Song Cultures and National Identities in Eighteenth-Century Britain, c.1707-c.1800

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Abstract

This thesis focuses upon song cultures to provide a fresh perspective on English and Scottish national identities in the eighteenth century. Across five chapters it tracks and describes the reproduction and reinterpretation of various forms of 'Englishness' and 'Scottishness' through songs and through writings about songs. It is argued that the complexities of English and Scottish identities and the extent of cultural interaction between the two kingdoms are currently obscured by the concept of 'internal colonialism'. Seen from the 'colonial' perspective, the eighteenth century is marked by on-going and conscious English efforts to disparage and displace Scottish culture in order to establish a culturally homogenous Britain. However, this thesis argues that 'colonialism' has a tendency to simplify English and Scottish actions by collapsing them into the roles of 'coloniser' and 'colonist'. Through an analysis of song cultures this thesis reveals the extent of cultural exchange that took place between the two kingdoms and argues for a more nuanced reading of English attitudes towards the Scottish people and Scottish culture. The 'colonial' perspective is further problematised by the dominant status that Scottish song culture attained during the eighteenth century. This dominance was achieved not just through popularity, but also through reflections upon the meaning of nationhood that took place in enlightenment discourse. During the second half of the eighteenth century, the 'ancient', pastoral heritage of Europe was given fresh significance, and Scottish songs, with their simple, yet powerfully 'expressive' sounds, were accordingly raised in status. Emphasis upon the power of primitive cultures, coupled with a shift in thinking about music as an expressive rather than an 'imitative' 'art', led to Scottish songs being judged more 'ancient' and more 'national' than English song, not just by Scots but by many Englishmen too.

Table of Contents

Illustrations

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Abbreviations

Archives and Libraries:

BL – British Library

BM – British Museum

Bodleian Ballads – the Allegro Catalogue of Ballads, Bodleian Library, Oxford

NAS – National Archives of Scotland

NGS –National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh

NLS – National Library of Scotland

NPG – National Portrait Gallery, London

V & A – Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Texts and Databases:

ODNB – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

OED – Oxford English Dictionary

GHoM – Burney, Charles. *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Stages to the Present Period*, 4 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1776-1789)

GHoSPM – Hawkins, John. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music,* 5 vols. (London: 1776)

Pepys – The Pepys Ballads (ed.) by W. G. Day, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987)

Roxburghe – The Roxburghe Ballads (ed.) by William Chappell, 9 vols. (London: 1869)

Introduction

This thesis is about song cultures in eighteenth-century Britain, and it is about national identities in England and Scotland. It is about the poets, the painters, and above all the songwriters, who thought about themselves and expressed something of that identity through their 'art'. It offers the first comprehensive historical analysis of national identities in Britain as seen, primarily, through the medium of songs and contemporary discussions about songs. And, unlike previous studies, which have focused upon the political, the religious or the economic bonds of nationhood, my focus here is upon the role played by culture in the shaping and constructing of national identities. The primary purpose of this thesis then is to show that national identity had a distinctive cultural history.

This study is interdisciplinary and draws upon the works of literary specialists, sociologists, musicologists, and works from the fields of 'nationalism studies' and theatre studies. Of course it also engages with the works and concerns of historians. The core argument of this thesis is that an imbalance exists in our current perspective on eighteenth-century Anglo-Scottish relations. At present, readings tend to stress Scottish cultural subjugation in the face of English cultural 'colonialism'. This thesis offers a critical perspective on the 'colonial' orthodoxy. Whilst I do not deny the presence of English, and Scottish, xenophobia, I do seek to offer a more nuanced account of the ways in which the English and the Scottish constructed a sense of each 'other'.

An analysis of song culture is perhaps one of the few ways that we can access and begin to bring to light the subtleties of this relationship. There is a tendency within scholarship to privilege language and literature above other forms of cultural expression. Studies of language and literature tend to argue for a century in which the Scottish 'tongue' and Scottish literary culture was disparaged and displaced due to pressures applied by dominant English forms. Song culture, however, tells a different story. It reveals that, in a large and significant area of eighteenth-century culture, the Scots were the dominant cultural force. For much of the century the distinctive, powerful sound of Scottish songs captured the attention of English audiences, and, as a result, much of this thesis is concerned with the ways the English embraced, celebrated, managed, and resisted this strong cultural influence from the north. By turns, this thesis is also about the ways in which Scots sought to promote their national culture and about the highly significant position Scottish songs came to assume in Scottish nationhood.

In the eighteenth century 'sub-national' identities, such as localism, and 'supra-national' identities, such as religion, remained strong.[1] Amongst the inhabitants of the kingdoms of England and Scotland there was, however, at least some sentiment or consciousness of being

[1] Julian Hoppit, 'Introduction' in *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850* (ed.) by Julian Hoppit, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp.1-14, esp. p.11; Stephen Conway, *War, State and Society in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: O.U.P, 2006), pp.193-196.

'English' or 'Scottish', and the motivations for their sense of belonging were manifold.[2] These national identities were not static, they were, and are, as much subject to the process of change as everything else. External pressures, such as war, political factionalism, or 'invasion' by foreign cultural 'fashions', created sufficient uncertainties and insecurities to prompt shifts in the nature of these identities. Hence we can say, that in the eighteenth century, 'Englishness' and 'Scottishness' were involved in an ongoing process of 'construction' that invites historical analysis and interpretation. In this thesis I track some of the shifts in these national identities by analysing and interpreting English and Scottish song cultures.

For the sake of clarity I will begin by explaining precisely what I mean by the term 'song cultures'. My definition is broad: it encompasses songs in their printed forms, and songs as musical entities that, whether on the page or performed, carried meanings in their sounds as well as their words. I also use the term to include debates and discussions surrounding songs within enlightenment discourse. I have pluralised the term to song cultur*es* because England and Scotland had, broadly speaking, distinct, but in various ways interrelated, song cultures of their own.[3] The interaction between the two, and the fact that these song cultures were distinct in terms of sound and, as we shall see, in terms of their histories, is of considerable significance to this thesis and will be elaborated upon below.

My use of the word 'song' is equally broad. Whilst some eighteenth-century writers used a variety of words, such as 'air' or 'song' interchangeably, differences in meaning can sometimes be inferred, or, in some instances, are clearly discernible.[4] Equally, within scholarly literature, words such as 'ballad' have a clearly defined.[5] Throughout this thesis, whenever an eighteenth-century writer uses 'air' or 'melody', I have followed their lead, and, whenever a

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[2] See, for example, Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650-1850* (Oxford: O.U.P, 2000), esp. pp.22, 268; Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2003), pp.103-120; Richard Finlay, 'Keeping the Covenant: Scottish National Identity' in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (ed.) by T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp.122-133.

[3] Thomas Crawford coined the term 'song culture', but did not provide a very comprehensive definition. He noted only that 'song culture' referred to songs 'as a whole affair', rather than as individual units, and that song culture should therefore be considered 'a medium used by the whole people'. Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric: A Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1979), p.viii.

[4] For example, Charles Burney used the word 'air' in a more discriminating way than many of his contemporaries when he wrote that, 'the word air' was the English equivalent of what the 'Italians call…aria'. Hence, when analysing operas, Burney often distinguishes between 'airs' and recitatives. Burney, *GHoM,* i*,* p.26.

[5] A 'broadside' is distinguished from a 'song' by format and means of transmission. A 'broadside' refers to a single sheet of paper with words printed on one side. A broadside can be a song, but it can also be an ode or a proclamation, and so forth. A more detailed discussion of the term 'broadside' can be found in Claude Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), pp.ix-xiii; On the printing and circulation of chapbooks and ballads in general, see, R. C. Simmons, 'ABCs, almanacs, ballads, chapbooks, popular piety and text books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* (ed.) by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, 6 vols. (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2002), iv, pp.504-514; Also, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* (ed.) by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner, 6 vols. (Cambridge: C. U. P, 2009), v, pp.18-19, 68-9.

term such as 'ballad' is appropriate I have used it.[6] However, whenever I stand back to describe or analyse situations or trends as a whole, I have tried to use the less restrictive word 'song', by which I mean, simply, a set of words, set to music and designed to be sung.

I should add that when describing songs that are Scottish in origin I have used the term 'Scottish songs'. However, when describing songs that sound Scottish but, in all likelihood, originated in England, I have used the term 'Scotch songs'. This division is not uncommon amongst Musicologists and historians, who often distinguish between genuine 'Scottish songs' and English-made 'Scotch songs' because it provides a degree of clarity.[7] However, it is worth noting that many eighteenth-century writers were less discriminating and used the two terms, and indeed a third term 'Scots songs', to describe any song that sounded Scottish. Throughout this thesis, I have not interfered with the eighteenth-century writer's choice of words.

In the eighteenth century songs could be 'old' or they could be 'new'. This distinction seems banal, but is in fact highly significant. When the English described a song as 'old', they typically meant that it dated to either the sixteenth or the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century the English became particularly concerned with 'old' songs. Being 'old' often gave a song some legitimacy to speak for the past. Songs could, and did function as historical documents. For example, the author of *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1723) boasted that he knew of 'several fine historians' who 'are indebted to Historical Ballads for all their learning'.[8] But these historical, or more aptly mytho-historical accounts (for many of them contain highly fanciful or erroneous claims) were, because of the oral/aural nature of songs, not constrained by levels of literacy. For example, *The Ballad of Chevy Chase,* which recounted a distant (possibly fourteenth century) skirmish between English and Scots forces, was described by Joseph Addison (1672-1719) as the 'favourite Ballad of the common people of England'.[9]

The significance of 'old' songs becomes apparent if we consider national identities more closely. Anthony Smith has provided a useful working definition of 'national identity', as, 'the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation by the members of a national community of the pattern of symbols, values, myths, memories and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the variable identification of individual members of that community

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[6] In the eighteenth century the word 'ballad' was used fairly liberally. Philip's *New World of English Words,* 6th edition (London: 1705) defined it simply as 'a common song sung up and down the streets', and in 1730 Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum: Or, a More Complete Universal Etymological English Dictionary than any Extant* (London: T. Cox, 1730) defined the term simply as 'a song'. However, some writers were more discriminating and used the term to mean a poem or song narrating a story in short stanzas. See the etymological details for 'ballad' in the *OED* and also the discussion of definitions in Branford Millar, 'Eighteenth-Century Views of the Ballad', *Western Folklore*, Vol. 9, No. 2. (Apr. 1950), 124-135.

[7] For example, David Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,* 2nd edition (Edinburgh: Mercat, 2003; orig. 1972), pp.130-131.

[8] Ambrose Philips, *A Collection of Old Ballads* (London: 1723), p.vii.

[9] Joseph Addison, *The Spectator,* May 21, 1711, No.70; I would stress however, that for practical purposes, this thesis deals primarily with London and Edinburgh. And whilst I try to avoid conflating London with England or Edinburgh with Scotland, the national identities explored in this thesis were those predominantly expressed by people living in these two urban centres.

with that heritage and its cultural elements'.[10] In the eighteenth century, old songs were significant media through which 'cultural elements' could be disseminated and mediated.

I should add that by 'new' songs I mean compositions that were contemporary to the eighteenth century. These 'new' songs could perpetuate the myths and histories, symbols and stories found in old songs, or they could reinterpret them, and so reinterpret conceptions of national identity. Sometimes, as we shall see, new songs could be used to contrast aspects of the national character, favourably or unfavourably, with the supposed character of ancestors as they featured in 'old' songs. Dialogues were therefore created between past and present in which the sense of nationhood was reinterpreted or reinforced against the characteristics of a national ancestor.

However, it is important that we not let this sense of distinct heritage and the continuities it seems to suggest, reify national identities. As stated, national identities are protean phenomena. They are also highly complex, not least because nations are almost always ethnically diverse and nationhoods are therefore seldom shared or agreed upon by all countrymen.[11] However, certain aspects of the culture, or institutions that inspire loyalty, can become common to the sense of nationhood for a majority, or at least a large proportion, of the population. For example, it has been argued that monarchy provides just such a role for a sense of English identity (and arguably, by the end of the eighteenth century for British identity too).[12]

This thesis argues that Scottish musical culture became a significant feature of Scottish national identity during the eighteenth century. The ubiquity and popularity of Scottish songs in England, both of which are charted throughout this thesis, contributed to their prestige. And crucially, the unique sounds and distinctive musical instruments (or rather, the instruments that were perceived as distinctly Scottish during the eighteenth century), made Scottish song culture a point around which a sense of Scottish nationhood could be stabilised. Unlike other aspects of Scottish culture, most prominently the native tongue, Scottish song culture not only endured, it dominated English song culture.

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[10] Anthony Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 2nd edition (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010; orig. 2001), p.20.

[11] On ethnicities and the problems they present for conceptualising the 'nation' and nationhood, see Walter Connor, 'A Nation is a Nation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1978), 377-400; Also, Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp.129-138.

[12] Colin Kidd has argued that that in the seventeenth century a 'minimalist Britishness' took shape in England, Scotland and Wales, based upon 'concentric loyalties', including, importantly, the (Stuart) monarchy. See Colin Kidd, 'Protestantism, Constitutionalism and British Identity Under the Later Stuarts' in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (ed.) by Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1998), pp.321-342; Arguably, these shared 'concentric loyalties' to monarchy were weakened by the Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian succession. However, Linda Colley has suggested that, in the final decades of the eighteenth century, George III was able to reinvent the role of monarch and thereby increase the popularity of the crown across Britain. See, Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837,* 2nd edition (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2005; orig. 1992), pp.204-228; For a sociological (and sceptical) analysis of the role played by monarchy in British identity in the twentieth century, see Tom Nairn, *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and its Monarchy* (London: Vintage, 1994).

I have mentioned, several times, that the *sounds* of songs are important to the arguments of this thesis. When historians do make use of songs they are analysed either as literary texts or they are studied as events, as public (less commonly private) performances that are read for meaning. For example, Linda Colley begins her seminal *Britons: Forging the Nation* (1992) with an analysis of the words by the Scottish poet James Thompson to Thomas Arne's song *Rule Britannia.*[13] In *The Sense of the People* (1995), Kathleen Wilson refernces the singing of songs by crowds to demonstrate the extent of 'public' awareness of and involvement in the political process.[14] On a broader scale, Benedict Anderson suggests that songs, specifically national anthems, can provide a sense of 'unisonality', of 'the echoed physical realisation of the imagined community'. By which he means, that the singing of a song known by most members of the 'imagined community' provides some sense of connection to strangers who are countrymen, thereby enhancing a sense of the nation as a community.[15] All of these approaches are valuable and, to varying degrees are adopted in this thesis.

Crucially, however, I adopt a fresh approach and suggest that songs also carried a sense of a shared culture, and by association, a sense of the temporal depth of the nation, through the *sound of the music*. The distinct sound of Scottish songs gave Scottish contemporaries, as we shall see, a strong sense that their song culture was distinctly 'national'. This in turn allowed their song culture to function as a focal point for Scottish national identity, particularly beyond the 1750s when thinkers of the Scottish enlightenment began to imagine links between the unique sound of Scottish songs and the Scottish landscape.

During the eighteenth century, the sounds of songs also became sources of information about the level of 'civility' a society had attained. For example, a society in which songs contained very simple melodies was judged to be less 'advanced' than a society in which music had evolved to the state of complex harmonies. Or, as one antiquarian put it, 'the most ancient of the Scottish songs...are extremely simple and void of all art', and must therefore, have 'been the production of a pastoral age and country prior to the use of any musical instrument beyond that of a very limited scale of a few natural notes'.[16] By the second half of the century the sound of Scottish songs linked them to a 'pastoral age' and thereby lent Scottish nationhood a greater sense of temporal depth. Because it raised questions about the age and 'purity' of their musical culture, I argue that the lack of a distinct sounding song culture undermined some Englishman's sense of national identity.

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[13] Colley, *Britons,* p.11; Further examples of songs analysed as literary texts can be found in, John Cardwell, *Arts and Arms: Literature, Politics and Patriotism During the Seven Years War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
[14] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1998), pp.143-45; For another example, see, Conway, *War, State and Society,* p.128.
[15] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism,* 2nd rev. edition (London: Verso, 2006; orig. 1983), p.145.
[16] William Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music' in, *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 1 vol. (Edinburgh: 1792), i, p.471.

This thesis therefore offers an original approach to using songs in historical research. It demonstrates that song cultures provide us with a fresh optic through which to view the state of Anglo-Scottish relations and the nature of Scottish and English identities. In this thesis I consider songs to be a vital part of eighteenth-century culture, worthy of study, in their own right. I suggest that song cultures can provide us with perspectives and insights, perhaps not accessible through other, more conventional portals into the past, and I am suggesting that the *sounds* of songs should be given the same serious consideration by scholars that they were given by writers of the eighteenth century. However, in order to consider these 'fresh perspectives', we need first to survey and explore the literature on national identities and on Anglo-Scottish relations in the eighteenth century.

The deconstruction and reconstruction of 'Britain':

In the past forty years or so, the field of 'new' Scottish history has become a thriving area of study with a rich and growing literature. However, for much of the twentieth century the British meta-narrative subsumed the intricacies of Scottish history. In the 1970s, driven by questions of 'how best to conceptualise the relationship between Britain and its colonial empire', a dramatic shift was set in motion by John Pocock when he set out to establish a distinctly 'British' history.[17] Pocock issued the challenging statement that 'British History...does not yet exist and must be created', by which he meant that the Anglo-centric approach, in which 'Britain' meant merely 'England' writ large, needed to be broken down and a 'new British' history recast.[18] Lingering influences of the once dominant 'Whig' interpretation of British history, in which Scotland was seen to have been dragged out of a state of economic and social stagnation by the Act of Union (1707), were subsequently exposed to the light by histories that told the interrelated story of three, or even four, kingdoms, rather than one (British) nation.[19]

By 1995 this venture had proved successful enough for David Cannadine to announce that the telling of British history from the perspective of one nation was now unthinkable.[20] Vibrant fields of Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English studies had emerged and, as a result, the search for Britishness had to be begin anew. The most notable contribution to this effort has

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[17] Richard Bourke, 'Pocock and the Presuppositions of the New British History', *The Historical Journal,* Vol.53, No.3 (2010), 747-770, p.747.

[18] J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *Journal of Modern History,* Vol.47, No.4, (1975), 601-24; Also, Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions of British History: in Search of the unknown Subject', *American Historical Review,* Vol. 87, No.82, (1982), 311-36, p.317.

[19] For example, Pocock has argued that the 'English Civil War' needs to be reconsidered as 'the war of three kingdoms'. Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions of British History', p.325; For a history of Britain told from British, English, Scottish and Welsh perspectives, see Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations,* 2nd edition (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2006; orig. 1989); For an account of relationships between the kingdoms, told from a Scottish perspective, see *Scots and Britons. Scottish political thought and the union of 1603* (ed.) by R. A. Mason (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1994).

[20] David Cannadine, 'British History as a "New Subject"' in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History,* (ed.) by Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp.12-28.

been by Linda Colley, whose seminal *Britons: Forging the Nation* brought the notion of 'otherness', that is, the mechanism whereby identity is defined in relation to what one is not, to bear on 'new British' history. Colley argued that Britishness in the eighteenth century was superimposed onto other regional or national identities, but without necessarily displacing them. This sense of Britishness was 'forged' (a word she uses to signal Britain's status as a cultural and intellectual invention which included thirteen colonies on the other side of the Atlantic), through the shared English, Scottish and Welsh experience of facing the powerful rival of Catholic France.[21]

Colley's central thesis has yet to be overturned, but numerous criticisms, revisions of and adjustments to the extent and timing of Britishness have been suggested.[22] However, it is from some particularly patriotic Scottish scholars that the most critical challenges to Colley's thesis have been issued. For example, Murray Pittock has questioned the very existence of the Protestant solidarity that Colley saw as crucial to binding the three kingdoms together under the British name. Instead Pittock paints a picture of marginalised cultural enclaves whose numerous ideologies, identities and allegiances make, he argues, any vision of an emerging 'British identity' highly questionable.[23] In addition, some scholars working in the fields of Irish and Scottish history, have perceived Colley's work as an unwelcome return to the British 'Whig' meta-narrative [24]

These attacks upon 'British' history need to be contextualised within broad shifts that have taken place in Scottish society. In particular, histories that stress Scottish exceptionalism

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[21] Colley, *Britons,* esp. pp.1-7, 134-35; Recently, Colley has published a third, updated edition of *Britons,* (2009). Whilst the main text remains identical to the 2005 edition, Colley has added an additional essay 'Britons Re-visited' in which she offers a counter argument to the notion that Irishmen and Scots were not involved in the creation and running of the British empire. She also appears to be sceptical of the notion that Britain was the result of English colonialism. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837,* rev. 3rd edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp.xxii-xxvi. It should be noted that all further references to Colley's *Britons* are taken from the 2005 edition; John Brewer has argued, similarly, that the British 'state' took shape during roughly the same period of time, in response to the complexities of funding and orchestrating many lengthy wars with France. John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1989), esp. pp.xiv-xxii.

[22] For example, Colley's exclusion of Ireland has been criticised by Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832* (London: Hodder Arnold, 1997), pp.96-101; Historians from the 'new Imperialist' school have argued that Colley pays too little attention to the 'multifaceted impact' of other external forces, namely empire, 'on the public political' imagining of the nation. Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, p.139; Stephen Conway has argued that 'Britishness' had a trans-Atlantic dimension that faded after the loss of the American colonies in the 1770s. Stephen Conway, 'War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 116, No. 468, (2001), 863-893; In addition, Conway tells us that, whilst there is some evidence of 'the adoption of a new and broader [British] national identity', for most people 'localism' and older loyalties remained stronger than national identities. Conway, *War, State and Society,* pp.193-196; Jonathan Clarke, has suggested that 'Britain' was not invented but in fact 'developed' from a 'solid foundation' of Englishness and 'other ancient if differently formulated identities of England's neighbours'. Jonathan Clarke, 'Protestantism, Nationalism and National Identity, 1660-1832', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 43, No. 1, (2000), 249-276, esp. 275.

[23] Murray Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 5-7.

[24] Leith Davis, *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiations of the British Nation, 1707-1830* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998), p.6.

and the distinct nature of Scottish identity (ethnicity), have increased alongside the ascendency of Scottish nationalism as a movement seeking cultural respect and independence for the nation. For example, Tom Devine's highly influential and much lionised 'total history', *The Scottish Nation* (1999), took a novel approach to the problems of British entanglement, as Richard Finlay succinctly put it, 'he ignored it', and in so doing, he successfully marginalised England in the process.[25] Instead Devine related an account of Scotland which stressed, amongst many other things, 'unparalleled' economic growth and 'dazzling' commercial success.[26] Elsewhere, in the accounts of Tom Devine and Michael Fry, aspects of the British meta-narrative that a generation ago seemed solid, have been recast in a Scottish mould, and so, for example, the 'British Empire' has become 'Scotland's Empire'.[27] Particularly influential to this sense of exceptionalism has been the growing literature on the impact of the Scottish Enlightenment. Whilst much of this work has revealed the flowering of an extremely important and influential episode in European history, we nevertheless find accounts in which the considerable accomplishments of these Scottish thinkers are used to justify claims that, arguably, they cannot possibly substantiate. For example, we are told that Scots ushered in 'modernity'.[28] And, in Arthur Herman's account of the Scottish enlightenment, Scots achieved nothing less than the 'invention of the modern world...and *everything in it*'.[29]

Whilst it is easy to put the titles of such works down to the enthusiasm of publishers, the adoption of such Scottish-British perspectives would seem to suggest that David Cannadine's optimistic pronouncement about the end of national-centric histories of 'Britain' is already in peril, if not obsolete. However, we need to turn from tracing the parallels between the growth of Scottish nationalism and trends in Scottish history writing, to consider other influences that have shaped thinking about Scotland's past. Central to this thesis is the argument that, since the late 1970s and 1980s, two trains of thought have heavily influenced Scottish cultural history.[30] The first of these is the sociologist Michael Hechter's (recently expanded) anatomy of nationalism that he began laying down in the 1970s. The second is the critique of

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[25] Richard Finlay, 'New Britain, New Scotland, New History? The Impact of Devolution on the Development of Scottish Historiography', *Journal of Contemporary History,* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2001), 383-93, pp. 391-93.

[26] T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), esp. pp.105-123.

[27] T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003); Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2002); It is worth noting that around the same time, right-leaning historians such as Niall Fergusson were busy trying to shore-up 'empire' as a thoroughly 'British' affair of considerable benefit to the world. Fergusson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2003).

[28] James Buchan, *Capital of the Mind: How Edinburgh Changed the World* (London: John Murray, 2003).

[29] See Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World* (London: Fourth Estate, 2002). In North America the same book was published under the even more extraordinary, and one assumes more saleable, title of *How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Europe's Poorest Nation Created our World and Everything in it* (Broadway, 2002).

[30] Stefan Berger has suggested that a drive to 'renationalize history writing' took place across the 1970s and 1980s in Britain, France, Germany and Italy. See, Berger, 'A Return to the National Paradigm? National History Writing in Germany, Italy, France and Britain from 1945 to the Present', *Journal of Modern History,* Vol.77, No. 3 (2005), 629–678, pp.650, 655-57, 670-72.

'modernist' conceptions of the nation and nationalism. Both of these arguments require some unpacking.

Michael Hechter's work focused upon the different forms that nationalism took in different societies. In more recent works he differentiates between at least five variations of 'nationalism'. Of significance to us here are two of these forms, namely, 'state building nationalism' and 'peripheral nationalism'. These two concepts were initially sketched out in his 1975 publication *Internal Colonialism,* and can be explained as follows: '*state building nationalism* is the nationalism that is embodied in the attempt to assimilate or incorporate culturally distinctive territories in a given state'. England, from the sixteenth century onwards, is, he argued, a prime example of this process because, for at least five hundred years, English rulers have attempted to establish a homogenous, culturally distinctive, (British) population. Closely related to this process of 'state building' is his concept of 'peripheral nationalism', which 'occurs when a culturally distinctive territory resists incorporation into an expanding state'. A classic example of peripheral nationalism is, he argues, Scotland and its ongoing attempts to resist England's state-building project.[31] In Hechter's analysis, England is therefore the coloniser, and Scotland the resistant colony.[32]

Hechter's primary purpose was to challenge the then dominant 'diffusion' model of national development. This model suggested that over three stages, from the pre-industrial to the industrial, the core and periphery of a nation would become integrated, as it were, by accident. In pre-industrial society, the cultures, ideas, and methods of a core (larger or more developed) group will be very different to the many disparate cultures and practices of the peripheries. However, during the process of industrialisation, greater interaction between the fringes and the centre is required and, over time, this generates commonalities. National identity will eventually occur when separate local and regional identities lose significance or start to blend.

Hechter rightly noted that complete homogeneity between England and the 'Celtic' nations had never been achieved; yet according to the 'diffusion' model this process should have occurred 'naturally'. Hechter therefore proposed that a process of 'internal colonialism' better explained the tensions and differences that remained between the English core and the Celtic peripheries.[33] In the 'colonial' model the process of homogenisation was deliberate and orchestrated by the 'core'. In other words, England, he explained, set out to 'dominate the periphery politically' and 'to exploit it materially', and in response, the disadvantaged peripheral group or groups 'reactively asserted (their) own culture as equal or superior to the

[31] These definitions are taken from, Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford: O.U.P, 2000), pp.15-17.
[32] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966,* rev. edition (New Brunswick: Transaction Publication, 1998; orig. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp.8-11.
[33] The concept of 'internal colonialism' was not, as Hechter explains, his invention and had previously been applied to studies of Italy and Russia. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism,* pp.8-9.

relatively advantaged core'.[34] Because of the violence involved in the process of 'colonialism', over time, inequalities or tensions between the core and periphery remained or increased and this, Hechter argued, explained the dynamics of Anglo-Scottish (and Irish) political, religious and social interaction over the past five hundred years.

However, Hechter's thesis is not a cultural study. The majority of his evidence is economic and statistical and he dedicates only ten pages to the 'cultural consequences of incorporation' - which he limits to a process of disparagement and Anglicisation.[35] Culturally speaking, the pre-industrial English and 'Celtic' cultures were separated and distinguished, he argues, by languages and religions. As part of the process of 'colonisation' the English employed coercive tactics to promote the spread of the English language and (after 1534) an English religion throughout the 'Celtic' nations. As we move towards the onset of industrialisation (and technological and economic gaps became more pronounced), the English contempt for Scotland, which was already prominent, 'developed increasingly'. The Scots were ridiculed for being backwards and this was carried over into attacks upon their culture, particularly their language.[36]

In the past twenty years, amidst the growth of a nationalist movement in Scotland, numerous scholars have adopted Hechter's framework and expanded what was essentially a religious and economic study of the subjugation of 'Celtic' people (which in Scotland Hechter applied only to the highlands, regarding the lowlands as economically and religiously closer to northern England), to broad studies of eighteenth-century culture. One purpose of this thesis is to challenge Hechter's 'model' and the scholarly literature that it has influenced.

The second major influence upon Scottish cultural history has been the revisionist attack upon the 'modernist' perspective. Broadly, 'modernists' were a number of scholars who argued that certain pre-modern, and certainly pre-*early*-modern, conditions, such as lack of widespread literacy, poor communication networks and relatively low levels of rural/urban migration (and the presence therefore, of more localised identities), functioned as 'vertical', in that levels of literacy and education, for example, were linked to 'vertical' social stratification, barriers that hindered the existence of a nationwide sense of national identity. Only in the 'modern' era, they argued, could these obstacles to nationhood be overcome and a deep 'horizontal' comradeship be forged.[37] For example, the social anthropologist Ernest Gellner (1925-1995) argued forcefully that the nation, and nationalism, only appeared through necessity in the modern world. For Gellner, the nation was a sociological imperative brought about by industrialisation. The modern state, he thought, required a population with a similar culture and a common education, and this fostered an objective need for homogeneity, or, as he put it, 'it is the case that a modern industrial state can only function with a mobile, literate, culturally

[34] Hechter, *Internal Colonialism,* pp.9-10.
[35] Hechter, *Internal Colonialism,* pp.109-19.
[36] Hechter, *Internal Colonialism,* p.117.
[37] Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* p.7.

standardised, interchangeable population'.[38] Contemporaneously to Gellner's work, Benedict Anderson made a similar argument that the nation came about in the 'age of Enlightenment'. The critical factor here, he argued, was the creation of 'print-capitalism', by which he meant the development and boom in vernacular printed materials during and beyond the eighteenth century that helped to establish a common language and shared ideas and values.[39] 'Modernism', particularly the arguments of Gellner, found resonance amongst several (predominantly) left-wing historians writing in the 1980s and 1990s. Eric Hobsbawm, for example, drew upon Gellner's work to argue that the 'modern territorial nation-state', was exclusive to 'a particular, and historically recent, period'.[40]

However, since the late 1980s the shackling of the 'nation' to 'modernity' has seemed, to numerous scholars, unnecessary, or even unwanted. For example, Adrian Hastings has argued that modernists ignore, or are blind to, early-modern or medieval uses of the term nation. This usage is particularly discernible in the Bible where, in Hasting's estimation, the term 'nation' is used in a recognisable, modern sense.[41] Elsewhere, revisionists have broadened terms such as nation and nationalism. For Ernest Gellner, nationalism was 'a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent', and for Eric Hobsbawn nationalism required 'group identification' with the 'nation-state', whereas the revisionist Anthony Smith defines nationalism as a sense of wanting to attain and maintain 'autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'.[42] Whilst the former is locked into a relationship with the 'nation-state', the latter has no such restrictions. Hence, Smith's anthropological studies stress the historical precedents of nationalism located in long-term cultural and ethnic myths, symbols and memories.[43] And hence many historians writing in the past twenty years have searched for English and Scottish 'nationalism' much earlier than the eighteenth century.[44]

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[38] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p.46.
[39] Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* p.37-46.
[40] Eric Hobsbawn, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1990), pp.9,18.
[41] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1997), esp. pp.15-16.
[42] Smith does note, however, that nationalist ideologies are more accurately phenomena of the late eighteenth century and beyond. See, Smith, *Nationalism*, pp.9,11.
[43] Smith lays out his case for, what he calls 'ethno-symbolism', in *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: O.U.P, 1999). He surveys and summarises the various 'paradigms' that seek to define and describe the nation and nationalism, including his own, in, Anthony Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 2nd edition (Cambridge: Polity, 2010; orig. 2001), pp.47-94.
[44] A number of English historians have claimed the existence of a coherent, recognisable sense of the 'nation' and 'nationalism' in medieval, even Anglo-Saxon England. See, for example, James Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England: The Anglo-Saxon Achievement' in *Uniting the Kingdom?*, pp.31-47; John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300,* 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997; orig. 1984); On Scotland see, for example, Joachim Schwend, 'Nationalism in Scottish Medieval and Renaissance Literature', *Scottish Studies,* Vol. 8 (1986), 29-42; Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

Nationalism, defined as a claim for 'autonomy, unity and identity', sits comfortably alongside Hechter's notion of 'internal' British 'colonialism', and the combination of these two perspectives has resonated with many Scottish historians in the past two decades. For example, in his *The Identity of the Scottish Nation,* William Fergusson argues the case for a historical, and cultural Scottish nation that has defied English attempts at integration for almost a millennia, safe in the knowledge that, as he puts it, the 'modernist's' argument has been utterly 'exploded'.[45]

Elsewhere, Murray Pittock, has reduced the ('modernist') idea of an 'imagined' or 'invented' community (that is to say, Anderson and Hobsbawn) to little more than the patently false and 'concomitant view that a mass of people can accept a fraud perpetuated by a publicist or creative artist as part of their identity'.[46] In the place of 'imagined' communities, Pittock suggests that a sense of the Scottish nation and Scottish nationalism rests upon something more tangible, namely Scottish 'ethnicity'. In its broadest sense, 'ethnicity' can, applied to Scotland, be used to mean that a discernible group of people called Scots can be found in both the past and present because they share (and identify with) a sense of common heritage and culture, and recognise each other as having a common ancestry (usually linked to a particular geographical region). This sense of heritage and ancestry makes, in Pittock's estimation, the nation something concrete. Scotland is, he explains, 'a product of sacrifice and devotion' and a 'grand solidarity constituted by the sentiments of sacrifice', made by (predominantly Gaelic) ancestors.[47]

In Pittock's work a sense of an 'ancient' Celtic nation, interweaves with the notion of 'colonialism'. In Pittock's accounts of Scotland's past England's attempts to dominate Scotland resulted in a division, partly mythical and partly real, between 'Celtic' and 'Teutonic' Scots. An ethnic divide opened up, and those Scots who were 'prepared to accommodate themselves to the manner and even title of Englishman', set about 'marginaliz[ing] and arguably exploit[ing] and tyrannizing those of their fellow countrymen who spoke a different language'.[48]

Pittock's sense that Scots had either to accommodate or resist English cultural forms and values is not uncommon. Influenced by post-colonial perspectives, many readings of eighteenth-century Scottish culture stress either cultural conformity to English standards, or nationalist resistance, typically in the form of promoting native poetry or language. Hence the literature can be loosely divided two ways. First, there are studies which stress the extent of Anglicisation, and, related to this, are studies that demonstrate the pressures caused by English

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[45] William Fergusson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p.301.
[46] Murray Pittock, *Scottish Nationality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p.3.
[47] Pittock, *Scottish Nationality,* p.5; It is worth stating that, elsewhere, Scottish historians are certainly alive to the potential abuses of the past. David McCrone has demonstrated the extent to which Scotland's historical icons and events have been reused and reworked (and sometimes abused) over the centuries, by numerous hands, often with diametrically opposed agendas. David McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors: Nationalism, Identity and History' in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (ed.) by Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp.253-72.
[48] Murray Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp.58-60.

standards of refinement and the sense of acute embarrassment that these forces created amongst Scotland's men of letters when they considered their own, relatively 'primitive', Scottish culture.[49] And second, there are studies that stress Scottish 'peripheral nationalism', that is, resistance to the Anglicising agenda. For example, Katie Trumpener, has argued that the pressures of an English cultural hegemony led to the rise of nationalism in the 'Celtic fringe' of Ireland and Scotland and, in particular, the growth of new literary forms, particularly the historical novel, and Bardic poetry in an attempt to stave off Scottish (and Irish) cultural extinction.[50]

Although much work on Scottish cultural nationalism has focused on the end of the eighteenth century - on 'the borders of Romanticism', as one study put it - the decades immediately following the Act of Union have also been scrutinised for Scottish challenges to the English cultural hegemony.[51] The life and works of one figure in particular, the Scottish poet and songwriter Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), have become the focus of much debate. Several scholars have suggested that Ramsay's poetry and songs demonstrate his anti-Unionist sentiments and his attempts to subvert English cultural standards. In my first chapter, which covers the period c.1707-c.1739, I offer an alternative reading of Ramsay's songs and publications. I begin by highlighting some of the difficulties involved in claiming the presence, musically speaking, of an English cultural hegemony. Then, in line with some recent scholarship by Steve Newman, I suggest that Ramsay's publications point towards a man whose sense of nationhood was complex and perhaps changing over time. Unlike previous studies, I contextualise these claims by placing Ramsay's song publications within the context of song culture in London, and, in particular, amidst a significant boom in the popularity of Scottish songs in London that I have identified as taking place across the 1720s and 1730s. Finally, I consider some of the ways the English imagined Scottishness through song.

But the English also thought about their own national identity, and in my second chapter 'song, masculinity and Englishness in London, c.1730-1763', I demonstrate that English song culture played a significant role in the construction of a particular type of 'Englishness' around the middle of the century. This Englishness was closely bound up with masculinity. The

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[49] Two prominent examples are the Scottish poet James Thomson (1700-1748) and the Scottish dramatist David Mallet (c.1705-1765). On James Thompson, see, Dustin Griffin, *Patriotism and Poetry in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge and New York: C.U.P. 2001), pp.74-97; Mary-Jane Scott, *James Thomson: Anglo-Scot* (London: Athens Press, 1988); On David Mallet see, Sandro Jung, 'Staging an Anglo-Scottish Identity: The Early Career of David Mallet, Poet and Playwright in London', in *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (ed.) by Stana Nenadic (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), pp.73-90; On the complexities and shifts in meaning of 'Northern-British' identity, see, Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotism', *The Historical Journal,* Vol.39, No.2 (1996), 361-8; On David Hume's embarrassment and alleged complicity in an 'English imperialist cultural agenda', see James Basker, 'Scotticisms and the Problem of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (ed.) by John Dwyer and Richard Sher (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1993), pp.81-95.

[50] Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[51] *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (ed.) by Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2004).

close links between masculinity and 'Englishness' are clearly demonstrated in Richard Leveridge's song *The Roast Beef of old England* (c.1731). This song also reveals that ongoing wars with France and Spain were placing masculinity and Englishness under considerable pressures. Like many other songs of the time, *The Roast Beef* contrasted the masculinity of contemporary Englishmen unfavourably with that of their Elizabethan ancestors. However, by the 1750s, amidst a period of peace and following several English victories, the meaning of the 'roast beef' shifted slightly. I track the 'roast beef' across English media, through paintings, prints, poems and particularly songs, to show how it emerged, in the hands of William Hogarth, as a symbol of prosperity and liberty. But songs were not considered to be inert, and merely pleasing or descriptive. In the eighteenth century songs were thought to have utility. And in the final part of the chapter we consider some of the ways contemporaries thought songs might be used to benefit the nation.

However, around the middle of the eighteenth century a number of events occurred that impacted upon Anglo-Scottish relations. In my third chapter, I shift focus onto 'Scottishness', as perceived and imagined within English song culture, amidst the tumult of the Jacobite uprising (1745-46) and the coming to power of Britain's first Scottish Prime Minister, John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute (1762). I consider c.1739-c.1770 to be a period of transition, during which the popularity of Scottish song in theatres and taverns declined and English concerns about the popularity and (musical) potency of Scottish song culture become visible for the first time. In order to track changes in this imagined 'Scottishness', I focus upon two characters called Jockey and Jenny, who featured in numerous English songs from the late seventeenth century onwards. I provide a case study of the representation of bagpipes in English culture and suggest that the 'pipes' came to function as a signifier of Scottish martial prowess and masculinity. Finally, I argue that references to Scottish music, particularly to songs and to the pipes, were a key part of the Scotophobic media produced by John Wilkes (1725-1797) and his supporters in the early 1760s.

I have mentioned that I regard the mid-eighteenth century to be a period of transition in the history of song cultures in England and Scotland and, in my fourth chapter I explain, in greater detail, why this is so. In this chapter I chart the appearance of what I am calling, 'song histories' between c.1750 and c.1800. I argue that, following the impact of various writings by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Charles Avison (c.1709-1770), notions of refinement and 'civility' - upon which much of the English sense of cultural superiority rested - became less valuable as criteria by which to judge song cultures. As more importance was attached to the effects of melody upon the passions, and the idea of a 'noble savage' gained currency, Scottish writers began confidently proclaiming their musical culture superior to that of the English. By degrees, the English became increasingly concerned about their perceived lack of a song culture of comparable age and melodic quality. Insecurities about a lack of musical, cultural 'roots' led Englishmen to write 'song histories', that sought either to explain why they

lacked a discernible song culture of their own, or to attack Scottish claims about a musical, 'Celtic', pastoral heritage. Crucially, the dominant position of Scottish song culture beyond the 1760s led to some English writers arguing that England must be a cultural 'colony' of some more 'ancient' nation.

My fifth and final chapter focuses upon debates surrounding 'national song', a phenomenon that I have identified in the second half of the eighteenth century. Contemporaries used this term to note the difference in the sounds of songs produced in different nations. I explore the links between discussions of 'national song' and enlightenment discourse on climate, human temperament and physiology. I argue that Scottish writers drew upon this knowledge to validate and stabilise notions of Scottish cultural 'purity' and models of 'Celtic' cultural history then under construction. Furthermore I demonstrate how this notion of cultural 'purity' caused further anxiety for the English, whose song culture was now seen to be an un-pure 'hybrid'.

Chapter One: Allan Ramsay (1684-1758), song cultures and 'post-colonial' British history

From the 1930s onwards, the argument was made that several factors, most significantly the Act of Union in 1707, left Scotland in a state of tension and insecurity between, on the one hand, the pressures applied by a dominant England for cultural conformity and, on the other, a desire to maintain and preserve Scotland's cultural heritage and independence. There was, it has been argued, an unbridgeable gap between having to think in one language (Scots), and write in another (English). This 'spilt' was so profound amongst Scottish writers that it was thought analogous to a state of 'schizophrenia'.[1] As a result of this so called 'paradox' Scots found themselves choosing either to adopt English standards of taste and manners, to resist English influences through the expression of 'patriotic feelings' or, to resist through the 'revival' of Scottish heritage.[2]

Over the past two decades numerous challenges to this perspective have appeared, not least from scholars studying eighteenth-century Scottish literature.[3] For example, Leith Davis has challenged the 'paradox' by demonstrating the existence of a 'dialogic', that is, an ongoing process of exchange within Scottish literature, which problematises the simple 'duality' of the old orthodoxy.[4] As a result, the static, unchanging culture imagined by proponents of the 'paradox', has been severely weakened. Yet, despite these advances, I would suggest that the complexities of Anglo-Scottish cultural relations continue to be obscured. In this chapter I will argue that a reliance upon the 'internal colonialism' thesis, often by the very same scholars who have criticised the simplicity and obfuscating powers of the 'paradox', generates readings of the past in which Englishness and English culture are reduced in complexity or misrepresented.

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[1] David Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.10; The term 'schizophrenia' is found in Daiche's earlier publication, *Robert Burns* (New York: Rinehart, 1950), p.1.

[2] Daiches*, The Paradox of Scottish Culture,* p.21; Evidence that Scotland's elites attempted to alleviate cultural embarrassment by assimilating English manners and attitudes are frequently stressed in studies of the language and literature. See, for example, James Basker, 'Scotticism and the Problems of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Eighteenth Century Life,* Vol. 15, (1991), 81-95; In surveys of the eighteenth century, phrases to the effect that 'Scots lacerated' themselves by choosing either to conform or resist to English influences, are not uncommon. Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century,* 2nd rev. edition (London: Penguin Books, 1990; orig. 1982), p.35. Also, Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), pp.242-243.

[3] Steve Newman lists several studies of this nature in his 'The Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay: "Lyrick" Transformation, Popular Culture, and the Boundaries of the Scottish Enlightenment', *Modern Language Quarterly,* Vol. 63, No. 3 (2002), pp.280-81.

[4] Leith Davis set out to offer a 'reading of literature in Britain' that did not rely upon 'dualism' and did not read Scottish literature as being either 'complicit or oppositional' to the divide. Davis, *Acts of Union*, p.7; For another example that also stresses the fluidity of Scottish identity, see Corey Andrews, *Literary Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Club Poetry* (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), pp.15-22.

As outlined in my introduction, in 1975 (and subsequently) Michael Hechter argued that from the sixteenth century onwards, England had been involved in the process of colonising Scotland. Within this relationship dominant English forces set about disparaging Scottish culture and practices, and from an English perspective, the Celtic nations merged into one culturally inferior, homogenous 'fringe'.[5] In the past ten years a number of studies have analysed Scottish songs and song collections through the 'colonial' lens.[6] In particular, these studies have focused upon the life and works of Allan Ramsay (1686-1758) who, after c.1711, when he began self-publishing his own poetry and songs in Edinburgh, rose in prominence to establish himself as one of Edinburgh's foremost literary and musical figures. For much of the twentieth century, scholars maligned Ramsay for his 'particularly insipid' songs and his literary contribution of 'trifling stanzas'.[7] However, of late, Ramsay's significance has been reappraised, largely because his song collections, his pastoral comedy *The Gentle Shepherd* (first published in 1725), and his poetry publications, are judged to have been instrumental in the revival of the Scottish vernacular.[8] Because of his role preserving and revitalising the Scottish language, Ramsay's life and works have enjoyed something of a renaissance at the hands of scholars seeking to demonstrate Scottish resistance of Anglicising forces in the decades following the Act of Union.

In his most recent study of Ramsay's songs and poetry, Murray Pittock has argued that Ramsay set out to achieve the 'preservation of a deliberately Scots mindset' and to 'protect and promote a distinctive national voice, by transforming English uses of literary kinds' without 'surrendering to them'.[9] In Pittock's estimation Ramsay is an avatar of Scottish patriotism and anti-Unionism, a covert Jacobite whose works sought to liberate Scots poetry from the 'tyranny of metropolitan [English] standards' governing register and genre, whilst subtly satirising the

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[5] Hechter, *Internal Colonialism,* pp.9-119.

[6] Several of these articles and texts are outlined and discussed below. Other examples do exist and include, Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1724-1874* (Indiana: University Of Notre Dame Press, 2006); Claire Nelson has argued that beyond the 1780s, the pressures of Anglicisation (and Italian influences) caused several Scottish writers to embark upon 'a crusade' to preserve the distinct qualities of their national musical culture. See Claire Nelson, 'Tea-Table Miscellanies: The development of Scotland's song culture, 1720-1800', *Early Music,* Vol. 28, No. 4, (Nov. 2000), 597-618, p.598.

[7] Crawford, *Society and the Lyric,* p.8; Robert Pearsall, 'Scott and Ritson on Allan Ramsay', *Modern Language Notes,* Issue 66, No. 8, (1951), 551-553, p.531.

[8] The most complete biography on Ramsay is by Burns Martin, *Allan Ramsay: A Study of His Life and Works* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931); On the Scottish vernacular revival and on the enlightenment obsession with defining a non-regional standard of English, see John Barrell, 'The Language Properly so Called: The Authority of Common Usage' in Barrell's *English Literature in History, 1730-1780: An Equal, Wide Survey* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), pp.110-175; Also, Janet Sorenson, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2000), p.95.

[9] Murray Pittock, 'Allan Ramsay and the Decolonisation of Genre', *The Review of English Studies,* Vol. 58, No. 253, (2007), p.315; Pittock is also the author of the entry for 'Ramsay, Allan (1684-1758)' in the *ODNB,* (2006), accessed, 1 December 2008; Pittock also mentions Ramsay in his study of Jacobite codes. See Pittock's, 'Good Corn Upon the Rigs? The Underground World of Jacobite Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' in his *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the present* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp.41-72.

writings of Joseph Addison, to further defy the English cultural hegemony. Ramsay's writings actively attempted, he argues, to 'decolonise' Scottish culture in the face of English 'colonialism'.[10]

But Pittock is not alone in placing Ramsay at the heart of Scottish 'peripheral nationalism'. According to Leith Davis, Ramsay also resisted Anglicisation through his song publications. In her study, *Scottish Song and the Challenge to British Culture,* Davis draws directly upon Michael Hechter's work to argue that English song books contributed towards the construction of a 'Celtic fringe'. By mixing together in print, without any indication as to their national (Irish or Scottish) origins, songs from the Celtic 'areas', the English sought to 'homogenize the geographical and cultural peripheries of Britain', with the ultimate purpose of promoting 'the cultural hegemony of a London-based Britain'.[11] However, this attempted English colonialism was met with Scottish resistance, and song publications provided Scots with 'many ways to challenge the basis of [London's] power'.[12]

For Davis, Allan Ramsay contributed to this challenge in two ways. Firstly, Ramsay confronted English audiences with songs lacking accompanying musical scores. He offered his readers only the instruction that the lyrics were to be sung 'To the tune of...' various well known Scottish melodies. This demanded of the English readers an unattainable 'knowledge of Scottish folk culture', and so challenged the prevailing notion of a 'powerful, cosmopolitan London versus a weak, tradition Scottish periphery'.[13] Secondly, Davis argues that Ramsay's song collections challenged the impulse to establish 'modern rules' for the 'arts'. The process of establishing 'tastes' and 'guides' to the arts was, she argues, ultimately designed to 'promote an English-dominated British national identity' and endow this 'Britain' with a 'firm cultural foundation'.[14] Central to the English-British standardisation of the 'arts', she suggests, was the notion that poetry (the lyrics) 'ranked' more highly than music, but by publishing a musical score to accompany his highly successful *Tea-Table Miscellany; Or, A Collection of Scots Sangs* (first published 1724), an act which Davis argues was 'unique' at that time, Ramsay defied and problematised the Anglo-British 'hierarchization of the arts'.[15]

This chapter largely takes the form of a critique of Pittock's and Davis's treatments of Scottish song culture. By analysing attitudes towards Scottish songs from an English perspective I offer a fresh optic through which to see the interconnected and shifting nature of cultural relations between the two kingdoms. I argue that reading Anglo-Scottish history as a process of 'internal colonialism' necessitates casting English actions into the mould of

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[10] Pittock, 'Allan Ramsay and the Decolonisation of Genre', p. 317.
[11] Leith Davis, 'At "sang about": Scottish song and the challenge to British culture', in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (ed.) by Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.189.
[12] Davis, 'At "sang about"', p.188.
[13] Davis, 'At "sang about"', pp.190-91.
[14] Davis, 'At "sang about"', p.192.
[15] Davis, 'At "sang about"', pp.192-193.

'coloniser'. This results in the creation of an almost monolithic 'English culture' that risks obscuring the presence of multifarious and changing English attitudes and perspectives. Within 'colonial' analysis of song cultures, English actions are frequently collapsed into a process of disparagement and displacement, against which Scottish culture can manifest acts of resistance or subversion. Colonialism therefore polarises as well as homogenises the nature of Anglo-Scottish relations.

In addition to the claims made above, I also wish to provide a more nuanced reading of Allan Ramsay's sense of national identity, which was more complex than either Davis or Pittock has allowed. In doing so I am following the example of Steve Newman, who has suggested that Ramsay's poetry, and crucially, his 'ballad-opera' *The Gentle Shepherd,* blended the 'old', that is poetry in the Scottish vernacular, with the 'new' (that is, English notions of 'politeness' and the 'pastoral'), allowing Ramsay to stake a claim on a new 'British landscape'. In Newman's reading, Ramsay is judged a progressive, in tune with both English (and enlightenment) notions of progress, but also alive and sensitive to Scottish culture; he is therefore a Scot whose literature flourished in the 'British' market.[16]

My intention in this chapter is not to deny that the Union provoked a range of reactions, from support to violent hostility, on both sides of the Tweed.[17] Nor is it my intention to deny the existence of an English sense of cultural superiority. Instead, I wish to raise doubts about the notion, common to a fair number of studies, that English attitudes towards Scotland can be boiled down to either indifference, or, on account of Scotland's 'barbarity' and 'rudeness', outright hostility or ridicule of Scotland's culture. I am taking exception then, to the idea that 'the Scots were repellent to English popular opinion' in the decades following the Union.[18] Or, as even Steven Newman has argued, that the English were hostile to 'most things Scottish', and that Scots, including Allan Ramsay, had to work within the confines of English 'standards' if they wished to succeed in the London markets.[19]

This chapter then, seeks to raise questions about the reading of English culture provided by proponents of the 'internal colonialism' thesis. To do this I make four claims, around which the layout of the chapter is structured. Firstly, I contend that during the 1720s and 1730s the English were far more receptive to Scottish song culture than has previously been recognised. Secondly, I argue that Davis's postcolonial reading decontextualises Scottish songs from the broader debates about musical 'aesthetics' that were taking place during this period. Thirdly,

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[16] Steve Newman, 'The Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay: "Lyrick" Transformation, Popular Culture, and Boundaries of the Scottish Enlightenment', *Modern Language Quarterly,* Vol. 63, No. 3, (September, 2002), 276-315, pp.282-83; Steve Newman, *Ballad Collection, Lyric and the Canon: The Call of the Popular from the Restoration to the New Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp.49-51.

[17] See, for example, Jenny Wormald, *Scotland: A History* (Oxford: O.U.P, 2005), pp.184-5; On English indifference and Scottish hostility to the Union see, William Fergusson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), pp.205, 254.

[18] Alexander Murdoch, *British History, 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishing, 1998), p.52.

[19] Newman, 'The Scots Songs of Allan Ramsay', p.285.

this chapter seeks to set Allan Ramsay within the context of English and Scottish song cultures and the growing English tastes for Scottish songs that I describe as occurring in the early eighteenth century. In an analysis of several of Ramsay's publications and various portraits that accompanied these publications, I lend support to the works of Steve Newman by suggesting that Ramsay is best understood as both Anglophile and Scottish patriot. Finally, to offset any potential criticisms that this chapter ignores any English sense of cultural superiority, I conclude with an analysis of some of the ways that the English 'managed' 'Scottishness' within their song cultures, including the Anglicisation of the very sounds of Scottish music. However, in keeping with the emphasis I wish to place upon cultural fluidity, I finish by concluding that these 'imaginings' of Scottishness point, in part, towards an English desire for harmony and greater cultural exchange between the two kingdoms.

The Scottish sound and the British-wide circulation of songs:

In order to begin unpicking the 'colonial' approach, we need first to obtain some sense of the extent to which cultural exchange took place between England and Scotland in the early eighteenth century. To begin with, assigning early eighteenth-century songs to a particular region, or nation, can be problematic. As part of an oral culture they were subject to constant adaption and alteration according to shifts in taste and in response to particular events. In addition, many of these songs were tangled in centuries of cross-pollination between neighbouring communities. Songs circulated freely across borders and it was perfectly possible in the early eighteenth century for a song to have passed through various regional and national 'filters', becoming known and performed in all corners of the 'multiple-kingdom' that was Britain.[20] In addition, the same wide, cross-border distribution occurred in printed song collections. As this chapter will demonstrate, it was not uncommon for English songs to appear in Scottish publications and for Scottish songs to appear in English books. Given this 'British'-wide distribution of songs from both cultures, one is led to conclude, as Thomas Crawford rightly suggested, that in the eighteenth century 'the song market was...an all-British one'.[21]

The act of fitting an 'old' tune with 'new' words was commonplace as is evident from the fact that very few ballad sheets and song books contained a musical score. Typically the reader was instructed to sing the words 'To the tune of...' a popular melody of the day. Because few individuals would have been able to read music anyway, this was by no means a hindrance to the popularity of a song or a collection. Indeed, evidence suggests that individuals were capable of learning and memorising an extensive repertoire of melodies through the oral

[20] Robert Thompson, 'The Development of the Broadside Ballad Trade and its Influence upon the Transmission of the English Folksong' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queen's College, Cambridge, 1974).
[21] Crawford, *Society and the Lyric,* esp. pp.5-14.

culture.[22] Larger publications, including such hugely popular collections as Thomas D'Urfey and Henry Playford's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, did contain scores, but they were typically simple, single line melodies for the voice.[23]

The existence of this complex, interwoven song culture begins to expose the problems inherent in histories reliant upon the notion that melodies to songs were privileged only to people from a particular nation. Leith Davis's argument, that Allan Ramsay's 1724 publication the *Tea Table Miscellany* challenged English cultural dominance by containing Scottish songs without accompanying music, is dependent upon a Scottish song culture existing in cultural isolation from England, which was not the case. As we shall see, Ramsay's song publications seldom required any 'intimate knowledge of Scottish folk culture', drawing, as they did, upon melodies already circulating in England.

I should emphasise that the presence of a complex, inter-linked 'British' song culture did not prevent Scottish songs from maintaining a clear musical identity in their own right. Indeed, individuals were aware of and capable of distinguishing between 'national' sounds. For example, when Edward Burt, an Englishman with no discernible musical training, travelled to Edinburgh in c.1726, he had no trouble in distinguishing between the national characteristics of the melodies played daily upon the St. Giles Carillon, which, he commented, included 'Scots, English, Irish and Italian tunes' all played 'to a great perfection and...heard all over the city'.[24] The existence of certain musical signifiers alerted listeners to the Scottish origins of these pieces of music. Establishing the nature of these signifiers is important, not only for the analysis of song scores that follows later in this chapter, but also because a discernible Scottish sound demonstrated, for many contemporaries, the existence of a distinct, Scottish culture. As a result, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate, Scottish music became one of the most prominent and important features of the Scottish cultural landscape, and because of this status, the qualities of Scottish songs became the focus of nationally charged debates that had considerable repercussions for both English and Scottish identities.

Of particular importance in distinguishing between English and Scottish songs was, and is, the use of rhythm, scale and mode. In his analysis of several hundred Scottish and English songs, Bertrand Bronson determined that almost two-thirds of indigenous Scottish music used a

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[22] Ruth Perry has suggested that women were the primary custodians of songs through the oral culture, and demonstrates that it was not uncommon for an individual to have memorised up to one hundred song lyrics and melodies across a lifetime. See her, '"The Finest Ballads": Woman's Oral Tradition in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Eighteenth Century Life,* Vol. 32, No. 2, (Spring, 2008), 81-97, pp.91-92.

[23] Henry Playford's *Wit and Mirth; an antidote against Melancholy* had already reached its third edition by 1684. In 1698 the piece was reworked and the title slightly altered to *Wit and Mirth; Or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*. Numerous editions, with increasing numbers of volumes, appeared over the coming decades. By 1719 editing had been taken over by Thomas D'Urfey (1653-1723) who expanded the sixth edition to six volumes. D'Urfey's edition also expanded on the number of simple scores. *Wit and Mirth, Or, Pills to Purge Melancholy,* 6 vols. (London: J. Tonson, 1719).

[24] Edward Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland,* 2 vols. (London: S. Burt, 1754) i, p.241.

gapped scale, a figure that can be contrasted by its use in fewer than one in five English songs.[25] This 'strong and unmistakable native idiom', as Francis Collinson has called it, is almost always pentatonic or hexatonic.[26] This is achieved, in the pentatonic, by the removal of both the fourth and seventh notes of the scale (fig. 1) and in the hexatonic by the removal of *either* the fourth *or* the seventh notes (fig. 2). In the pentatonic, the scale is therefore reduced from seven notes to five and in the hexatonic from seven notes to six. With regards to mode, Bertrand Bronson found that English music typically makes far greater use of the Ionian and Mixolydian inversions, which are almost non-existent in Scottish music. Modes therefore function as useful indicators as to the national provenance of a composition.[27]

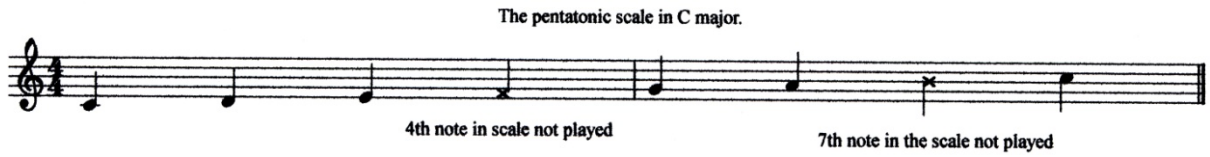

Figure 1: A pentatonic scale in C.

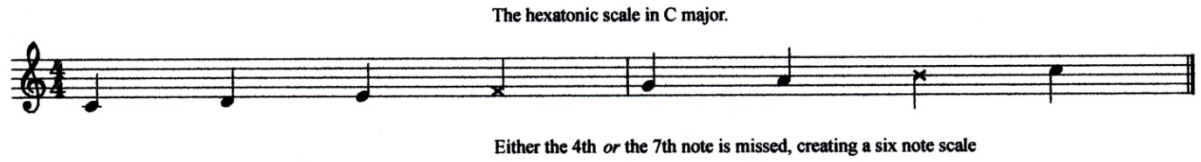

Figure 2: A hexatonic scale in C.

Rhythmically, Scottish music makes extensive use of dotted notes. In the Highlands this is frequently present in the form of the 'Scotch snap', namely a short accented note played before a long one, typically a semi-quaver followed by a dotted quaver.[28] Interestingly the 'snap' does not appear in any examples of early eighteenth-century song music circulating within Edinburgh or London, despite studies of Scottish song indicating that the rhythmic form is far older.[29] Its exclusion from early eighteenth-century printed scores is therefore perhaps an indication of the extent to which Scottish songs circulating within London and Edinburgh were

[25] Bertrand Bronson, *The Ballad as Song* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), p.155.
[26] Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp.4-5.
[27] Bronson, *The Ballad as Song,* p.156.
[28] For a more complex musical analysis of the rhythms and melodies to be found in 'Scotch' music see, Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland,* pp. 4-31.
[29] This absence is perhaps what led Roger Fiske to conclude that the 'snap' was invented in the late eighteenth-century. Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.15.

English or Lowland Scots in origin.[30] In addition to rhythm and scale, other signatures of Scottish music included the use of ornamentation, such as grace notes, the use of Scottish dialect in the lyrics, and of course, but less relevantly in song culture, the choice of instrumentation (such as the bagpipes and the fiddle).

However, it is important to realise that to most eighteenth-century ears songs 'sounded' Scottish if they contained at least some of these characteristics and, as a result, even a song of English origin could, as we shall see, be mistaken for a native Scottish composition. As mentioned, it is this branch of synthetic songs that musicologists typically label as 'Scotch songs', and, in the eighteenth century, these English imitations existed in very large numbers. Numerous composers in London attempted to fabricate the Scottish sound, but the quality of the 'forgeries' varied, and whilst some Scotch songs contained more 'Scottish' musical signifiers than the melodies they were trying to imitate, others had only the faintest Scottish sounds. Nevertheless, Scotch songs were highly popular, and featured in publications such as D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*.[31] Indeed, Henry Purcell (1659-1695) was certainly fond of this construction and used it fairly frequently in his works. One example can be found in his 'New Scotch Tune' from the *Musick's Handmaid* (1689), but other examples are plentiful.[32]

In the early eighteenth century, new-found freedoms, caused in part by the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 and the removal of pre-publication government censorship, caused a rapid growth in the volume of printed materials. Literature 'became a commodity circulating in all shapes and sizes', and as a result of this 'print boom', urban centres, particularly London and Edinburgh, became home to vibrant 'print cultures'.[33] Broadsides, including ballads, became so ubiquitous that they lined pie-tins, crowded the shelves of gentleman 'collectors' and plastered

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[30] Francis Collinson calls the 'snap' ' the very life-blood of Scottish musical rhythm'. See, Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland*, pp.28-31; John Purser has also asserted that the 'snap' appears as characteristic of Scottish music from the mid-seventeenth century. John Purser, *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing, 1992), p.17.

[31] Many of the so called 'Scotch' songs within D'Urfey's publications are now accepted as contemporary Scotch songs that made use of Scottish rhythms, rather than ballads of genuine Scottish origin. See, Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music,* pp.632-638.

[32] For other examples of Purcell's Scotch music see, 'Appendix A' in Fiske's *Scotland in Music,* pp.187-188; On Purcell's use of the snap see, Martin Adams, *Henry Purcell: The Origins and Development of his Musical Style* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1995), p.314; On which subject, see also, Thurston Dart, 'Purcell's Chamber Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,* Vol. 81, No. 93, 85th Session, (1958-1959), 81-93, p.89; On musical declamation and the Scotch snap in Purcell's compositions, see Ellen Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas* (Oxford: O.U.P, 1987), p.93.

[33] See John Feather, *A History of British Publishing,* 2nd rev. edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2006; orig. 1988), pp.89-91; *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (ed.) by James Raven, Helen Small, Naomi Tadmor, 2nd edition (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2007; orig. 1996), pp.125-136; On music printing in the seventeenth century see Mary Chan, 'Music Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* iv, pp.127-137; On music printing in the eighteenth century and on the growth of printing in Edinburgh and London see the various articles by, David Hunter, 'Music' and J. Raven, 'London and the Central Sites of the English Book Trade' and Ian Beavan and Warren McDougal, 'The Scottish Book Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* v, pp.750-61, 293-308, 352-65; Also, Porter. *Enlightenment,* p.72-95.

the walls of coffee shops and taverns.[34] Yet, the (sometimes) vulgar or poor lyrics, combined with the 'low' or potentially insalubrious public spaces with which songs were often associated (that is, theatres, taverns and streets), proved an unsavoury combination that marred song's social status. We can contrast, for example, the fact that many 'gentlemen' collected songs with the notable infrequency with which they appeared in educated discourses or 'polite' conversations in the first half of the century.[35] We might suggest, therefore, that songs occupied a strange middle ground, with people willing to pay good money to hear and own them, but often being reluctant to admit to such a fondness on account of their 'base' associations. Hence, one Scottish commentator publically announced the great enjoyment he received from 'a good song...set only to some common Tune', but, was unwilling to sign his name to the confession, on account of the 'unpolite' feelings that his passion generated.[36]

There is, however, a need to be cautious when emphasising the low social status of 'songs' in the early eighteenth century. During the period covered by this chapter it is arguable that a change in attitudes towards songs was underway. Arbiters of 'taste', such as Joseph Addison, attempted to bring discussion of 'the ballads of the common people of England' into 'public' discourse. In 1707 the Society of Antiquaries was re-established, and immediately set about collecting a library of ballads.[37] Publications, such as Ramsay's immensely successful *Tea-Table Miscellany,* were compiled in the Addisonian spirit, in that they raised 'common songs' from the taverns and streets and placed them on the coffee tables and shelves of Britain's middling sorts and elites. In 1723 *A Collection of Old Ballads,* reproduced from the 'most ancient copies', and the first collection of solely 'old' English ballads, was published. Like Addison, the publisher, went to lengths to set these ballads alongside the works of Pindar, Virgil and Homer, and even went so far as to open his publication with a copper plate showing a temple of 'worthies' – a line of literary descent of which, these old English ballads were the

[34] See Joseph Addison's comments in *The Spectator,* 7 June 1711, No.85.
[35] Hence Joseph Addison felt compelled to anticipate and defend himself from criticism for discussing ballads in *The Spectator. 21 May 1711,* No. 70. Addison mentions that he knows several men of 'quality' who enjoy or have enjoyed 'common songs'. He names, Charles Sackville, the Earl of Dorset (1636-1708); Samuel Pepys was perhaps the most prominent collector of the late-seventeenth century. On attitudes towards ballads from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries, see Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650,* translation by Gayna Walls (Cambridge: C. U. P, 1990), pp.242-252, 253-284; The antiquarian Thomas Percy tells us that notable eighteenth-century figures such as David Garrick were also collectors. Thomas Percy, *Reliques [sic] of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs and other Pieces of our Earliest Poets,* 3 vols. (London: J. Dodsley, 1765), i, pp.xi-xiv.
[36] Joseph Addison wrote three times on the ballads of 'Chevy-Chase' and 'Two Children in the Wood', See the three issues of *The Spectator* for*,* 21 May, 1711, No. 70, 25 May 1711, No. 74 and June 7, 1711, No. 85; He was, however, subjected to some ridicule and criticism for doing so. See, for example, William Wagstaff, *A Comment on the History of Tom Thumb* (London: J. Morphew, 1711); For the comments by a Scottish gentleman, see *The Eccho* [sic]: *Or, Edinburgh Weekly Journal,* February 10, 1731.
[37] Sigurd Bernhard, *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain During the Eighteenth Century* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1916), p.37.

heir. In addition, the most successful British theatre piece of the century, John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera,* was essentially a hybrid of theatre tunes and songs from the oral tradition.[38]

From an eighteenth-century scholarly or critical perspective, songs were thought too low to merit serious discussion in treatises and essays on the 'arts'. Yet even the most anti-musical writers could not deny the ability of music to exert extraordinary powers over the human passions.[39] Whether or not such effects were sought-after was another matter. Indeed, the ability of (some) music to invoke 'mere feelings', was criticised in some quarters, right up until the end of the century.[40]

In the first half of the century scholarly attention focused upon music's 'imitative' abilities.[41] Through the relationship between signs and the world, other creative forms, such as poetry, were able to conjure up vivid images of places, people, or complex feelings. By contrast, music was thought to be a poor imitator that, without the precision and clarity of language, could mimic little of import. As Hildebrand Jacob put it, 'Music is a great and sudden mover of the passions…but as it consists only of sounds, to which no other ideas are annexed, its impressions are easily defac'd'.[42] With no clear meaning, music could not impart specific messages and was therefore unable to perform didactic or moral purposes.[43] Hence, whilst instrumental music was often subjected to criticism, vocal music, with its accompanying poetry and use of the most clear and expressive instrument of all, the human voice, was ranked highest in the hierarchy of musical forms.[44]

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[38] The scholarly literature on the *Beggar's Opera* is vast. Some scholarship includes, Steve Newman's 'Why There's no Poetic Justice in The Beggar's Opera; Ballads, Lyric and the Semi-autonomy of Culture' in his *Ballad Lyric and the Canon,* pp.15-43; Also, Jeremy Barlow, 'The Beggar's Opera and Italian Opera' in his *The Enraged Musician: Hogarth's Musical Imagery* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp.161-198. Barlow also produced the most up-to-date and complete edition of the music for the Beggar's Opera, see his *The Music of John Gay's The Beggar's Opera, Edited and Arranged from Eighteenth-Century Sources* (Oxford: O.U.P, 1990); On the Beggar's Opera within the context of Gay's other works see, Calhoun Winton, *John Gay and the London Theatre* (Lexington KY: The University of Kentucky Press**,** 1993).

[39] See, for example, the comments made by John Dennis (1657-1734) in response to Joseph Addison's essays on *Chevy Chase* from *The Spectator.* Dennis, a poet and critic, renowned for his acerbic remarks, suggested that no educated person could be moved by the words to such low ballads, but they might, however, be affected by the tune. John Dennis, *Original Letters, Familiar, Moral and Critical,* 2 vols. (London: W. Mears, 1721), i, p.166.

[40] John Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), pp.402-3.

[41] John Dennis, a poet and critic, thought that 'Musick may be made profitable and delightful, if it is subservient to some nobler Art, and subservient to Reason' in the 'Preface' to *An Essay on the Operas After the Italian Manner* (London: John Nutt, 1706), p.2; Towards the end of the century music was still being discussed by some as an imitative art, for example, Thomas Twining, *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry, Translated with Notes on the Original, and Two Dissertations on Poetical and Musical Imitation* (London: Payne and Son, 1789); For a survey of discussion on music as an imitative art across Europe, see, John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp.22-75.

[42] Hilderbrand Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts, an Essay* (London: William Lewis, 1734), p.7.

[43] On Music as a force for moral good within a society, see, Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1995), pp.52-53.

[44] See, for example, the comments on instruments moving the listener by attempting to imitate the human voice in John Frederick Lampe, *The Art of Musick* (London: C. Corbett, 1740), pp.8-9.

In her study of Scottish songs, Leith Davis makes the claim that Ramsay's publications 'challenged the disciplinary divisions between the arts that were being established at the time in Britain'.[45] She suggests, that Ramsay's publication of the *Tea-Table Miscellany* with an accompanying musical score challenged the English 'hierarchization' of the 'arts'. Music, she acknowledges 'clearly ranked at the bottom of the artistic hierarchy', yet, by presenting 'Scottish songs as unique combinations of words and music, the *Miscellany* defies the conventional separation...and disrupts the standard assessment used to define British culture'.[46] However, debates about the status of music hinged, as we have seen, upon its inability to express meaning clearly. Music's power to move the human passions without the listener fully understand presented a threat to reason. Yet, by combining poetry with a score this problem was negated, and this was one of the reasons why so many eighteenth-century authors railed, as we shall see at various points throughout this thesis, against the 'dis-union' of poetry and music amongst the 'moderns'. Indeed, for most writers the combining of music with poetry was to be encouraged. Alone music was problematic; however, allied to poetry these two 'arts' could be described approvingly as 'Entertainments of reason' designed to please 'all our Faculties'.[47] In light of this, it is hard to see how Ramsay's publication disrupted or defied English standards.

The growth in popularity of Scottish and 'Scots songs':

It is difficult to assess whether or not Ramsay's publications were directly responsible for triggering a shift in English tastes. What can be stated is that Ramsay's first publication, *Scots Songs,* was published in 1718 (in Edinburgh) and that this coincided with the start of a dramatic increase in the number of Scottish songs published and performed in London. Evidence as to the increasingly fashionable status of Scottish (and Scots) songs can be found in the tremendous growth in Scottish music, dance and song performed in London's playhouses and taverns.[48] A tabulation of known performances of the Scottish or Scotch entertainments advertised during the period 1718-1738 reveals a palpable increase in both the number and the regularity of Scotch performances when compared to the decades immediately before and after these dates. For example, in the two decades from 1700 to 1717, the number of known musical-dance entertainments, advertised variously in London as 'Scotch dance', 'Scotch lilt', 'Scotch Sword Dance', 'Scotch jig' or 'Highland dance', totalled just seven. By contrast, between 1718

[45] Davis, 'At "Sang About"', p.191.
[46] Davis, 'At "Sang About"', p.192.
[47] The comments, made by Richard Steele, were in relation to the power of combined (native) 'arts' on the London stage. See, the *Tatler,* April 19, 1709, No. 4.
[48] On the establishment and growth of concert series in London, the first of which took place in 1672 at Whitefriars tavern, see Michael Tilmouth, 'Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670-1720', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,* Vol. 84, Issue 1, (1958-59), 13-26; On the rise of more formal concert venues in the eighteenth century see Simon McVeigh, 'Introduction' in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* (ed.) by Simon McVeigh and Susan Wollenburg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

and 1738, a period of roughly comparable time, the number of these entertainments totalled four-hundred and sixty-eight.[49]

The site of these entertainments varied, but almost all of London's major playhouses and musical venues staged some form of Scottish entertainment. So, whilst the punters at Lincoln's Inn Fields could see and hear a 'Scottish gentleman' perform the 'Highlander', audiences at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane could see a 'Scotch jig'.[50] At the Corner House, guests were entertained with 'Scottish Harp music', at Goodman's Fields theatre actors entertained the crowds with a piece called the 'Scotch sailor', whilst the manager of the Angel Court playhouse drew the crowds in with (the less imaginatively advertised) 'Scotch performers'.[51] For a shilling, evenings of 'Scotch songs' could be heard at the Front Long Room and at less formal venues like the Leg Tavern.[52] Entertainers, such as Anthony Aston, put on 'one-man' Scottish musical shows to please the customers at venues like the Crown Tavern in Smithfield.[53] And, even at London's less formal venues, such as the Bartholomew Fair, the taste for the 'Scottish' was catered for by 'Bullocks Great Theatrical Booth', where a Mrs Bullock performed her 'Scottish entertainments over by the hospital-gate'.[54]

There were over a hundred concert rooms in central London by the 1730s and although full concerts of Scottish songs were less common than other forms of Scottish entertainments, they did occur.[55] Hickford's music rooms on Panton Street advertised a benefit for the famous violinist Richard Charke (1709-1738) containing 'vocal and instrumental musick, with several Scottish Airs, to be performed on the violin'.[56] Similarly the Lincoln's Inn theatre put on a number of concerts featuring Scottish music, which were advertised as 'Scotch Ballads, to be sung by Salway, Legare, Mrs Seedo, Mrs Chambers, Miss Warren and Mrs Barbier'. Evidently such concerts had a great deal of draw, for on this occasion the house filled its seats with, to judge by the broad range of tickets bought at all prices, a good cross-section of London's theatre-going public.[57]

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[49] Figures obtained by calculating the total number of 'Scottish' themed entertainments recorded within *The London Stage 1660-1800* (ed.) by Emmet Avery and Arthur Scouten et al, 5 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959-1968), vols. ii, iii and vi (1960, 1961).
[50] *The Daily Post,* August 11, 1732. *The Daily Journal,* March 27, 1729.
[51] *The Daily Courant,* April 24, 1717; *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, May 4, 1736; *The Daily Courant,* September 24, 1718.
[52] *Daily Post,* December 1, 1729 and *Daily Journal,* March 8, 1731.
[53] *Daily Post,* March 8, 1731. Aston seems also to have written his own Scot songs. An advert in the *Daily Post* on December 1, 1729 included 'new Scots and English songs by Tony Aston'.
[54] *Daily Post,* August 26, 1729.
[55] Astonishingly these concert venues were all packed into a circumscribed area encompassing Fleet Street, the Haymarket, the City of London and Covent Garden. See, *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-century English Music* (ed.) by Michael Burden and Irena Cholij, 7 vols. (Edinburgh: Faculty of Music, 1987-1996), i, p.7.
[56] *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser,* April 19, 1736.
[57] The house receipts for that particular event survive and can be found in, *The London Stage 1660-1800* (1960), ii, p.967. On average attendance figures in the theatres at the time, and average ticket prices see, Judith Milhous, 'Company Management', in *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800,* (ed.) by Robert D. Hume, (Southern Illinois: Carbondale, 1980), esp. p.17.

Englishmen writing in the Scottish idiom would have composed many of these songs, but regardless of their national origin, they point towards a palpable English interest in Scottish culture during the 1720s and 1730s. Allan Ramsay certainly contributed to this interest by producing two song collections, *The Scots Songs* and the *Tea-Table Miscellany,* the latter of which reached its nineteenth edition in 1794. Although Ramsay was the first to bring collections of Scottish songs with Scottish dialect to print, he was by no means the only publisher or writer who realised the potential market for Scottish songs across Britain. Indeed, from the last decade of the seventeenth century until 1786 seventy-four songbooks were published in Scotland, and the vast majority of these made their way down to London and the English market.[58]

Allan Ramsay's relationship with London:

Allan Ramsay's contribution to music came from his reworking and adaptation of the lyrics to well-known songs. He was not a composer of scores and there is no evidence that he ever owned or played a musical instrument. He was, however, passionate about Scottish song and, to judge by the content of his publications, was familiar with an extensive range of melodies. He also liked to move in musical circles and evidently knew 'professional' composers, such as Alexander Stuart (dates unknown) and keen amateur musicians, such as Sir John Clerk of Penicuik.[59] Also, it is clear that Ramsay liked attending Edinburgh's early music clubs, where he could listen to Scottish ballads, such as 'Cowdon knows and Winter Nights are Long'.[60]

As an indication of his passion for music, Ramsay chose to devote much of his working life to collecting, reworking and publishing songs from the oral tradition. At first he published his own 'sangs' as single ballads, but it was not long before he started to gather these works together as collections, the first of which, entitled *Scots Songs,* came out in 1718. Tellingly, Ramsay chose the English word 'Songs' rather than the Scottish 'Sangs', as would be his practice in later publications, and, in addition, very few of the six songs found within the publication contained any Scottish dialect. Similarly the melodies, indicated by the direction 'To the Tune of...', are, as we shall see, an eclectic combination of Scottish and English songs as well as English ''Scotch' songs.

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[58] Crawford, *Society and the Lyric,* p.8.

[59] He later collaborated with Stuart to publish the *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Scots Songs* (Edinburgh: 1725); Ramsay lent out a great deal of material from his extensive library, including music publications. Evidence that he lent his friend Sir John music can be found in one of Ramsay's letters dated, 7 May, 1726: 'I received back the 2 vol musick'. NAS*,* Clerk of Penicuik Papers, GD18/4319 (20); On Sir John's musical activities see, Johnson. *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland*, pp.59-60.

[60] As Ramsay himself noted in 1724, 'Ms G[ordon] L- presented me with ane [sic] Grange at a musick meeting'. NAS*,* Penicuik Papers, GD18/4314; On the Edinburgh Musical Society see, Johnson. *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland,* pp.33-43; Ramsay's comments on the songs played at the Edinburgh Music Club come from his poem *To The Musick Club,* which appeared in his, *Poems* (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1721), p.304; On music clubs in Britain, see Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: O.U.P, 2000), pp.121-23.

In each case Ramsay's method was to take a well-known melody and to rework or adapt its lyrics. So his song *The Kind Reception* is directed as 'To the Tune of *Auld Lang Syne*', a melody with an established Scottish provenance.[61] Similarly, his song *The Penitent* is, 'To the Tune of' a well-known seventeenth-century Scottish melody *The Lass of Livingstoun [sic]*. Yet with these exceptions, the Scottish 'credentials' of his songs become questionable. For example, Ramsay directs his song *Love's cure* to be sung to *Peggy I must love thee*, a song with a discernibly Scottish sound to it, but which is listed in the *Musick's Hand-Maid* (1689) as a 'Scots tune' attributed to Henry Purcell.[62] In addition, his song *Delia* is to be sung to the English melody *Greensleeves*.[63] Perhaps Ramsay believed *Greensleeves* was Scottish, or perhaps he had no knowledge of the song's origins. Whatever the reason for its inclusion, it was highly likely that many of Ramsay's English audience were familiar with the melody.[64]

It is clear that from the start of his career, he set about securing patronage and gaining the notice of some of London's men of letters. For example, in 1719 he published the allegorical elegy *Richy and Sandy,* in Edinburgh and in England too.[65] The work, in which Richy (Richard Steele) and Sandy (Alexander Pope) lament the loss of Joseph Addison, was doubtless both a tribute to figures he admired and a calculated attempt to flatter leading luminaries. Indeed, the ploy seems to have paid off. The piece caught the attention of Pope whose second edition of *Eloisa to Abelard,* published in London in 1721, contained a reprint of Ramsay's elegy, alongside 'an explanation of *Richy and Sandy* in Verse'.[66]

At this point it had not been many years since Ramsay had left the Easy Club, an Edinburgh-based group of aspiring young men who emulated London's literary culture. At regular readings they devoured Addison and Steele's *Tatler* and *Spectator* (Ramsay himself took on the pseudonym of Isaac Bickerstaff within the club), whilst simultaneously asserting

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[61] On the provenance of this particular song see, Collinson, *The Tradition and National Music of Scotland,* p.125.

[62] Allan Ramsay, *Scots Songs,* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1718), p.14; The song is part of the collection of 'New Lessons for the Virginal or Harpsichord' and is titled 'A New Scotch Tune', but the music is very similar to the melody which Ramsay and Stuart would later set to accompany his lyrics for 'Peggy I must love thee' in the *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1725)*;* For Purcell's 'New Scotch Tune', see, Henry Playford, *The Second Part of the Musick's Hand-Maid* (London: Henry Playford, 1689), p.16. It is difficult to say whether Purcell was actually the author of the song or merely responsible for its arrangement in Playford's publication. It is equally difficult to say if Ramsay was aware of Playford's publication. I have found no mention of the *Musick's Handmaid* in the surviving list detailing Ramsay's book collection.

[63] According to Frank Kidson Greensleeves dates to c.1580. See, Frank Kidson, *English Folk-Song and Dance* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1915), pp.26-29.

[64] The melody, with score, featured in John Playford's *The Dancing Master: Or, Plain and Easie* [sic] *Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance* (London: 1686), and continued to appear in every subsequent edition including the seventeenth edition, published in 1721; A song called 'A New Song of Lulla By' – about the birth of James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), and sung 'To the tune Green Sleeves' - can be found in Samuel Pepys' ballad collection. *Pepys.* v, p.128.

[65] Allan Ramsay, *Richy and Sandie: a Pastoral Elegy on the Death of Mr. Joseph Addison* (Edinburgh: 1719), also (Nottingham: John Collyer, 1719).

[66] Alexander Pope, *Eloise to Abelard, The Second Edition* (London: B. Lintot, 1720).

their Scottish identities through the reading of vernacular Scottish verse.[67] Indeed, the combination of a deep affection for his country's cultural heritage and a keen desire to associate with, and to take advantage of, the possibilities offered by 'British' patrons, resonates throughout Ramsay's early career and, it was an ambition that he shared with many of his countrymen. The growing popularity of Scottish music in London must have made the journey south a very tempting prospect for many Scottish musicians in the twenties and thirties. Indeed, the list of Scots who travelled south to set themselves up as music tutors, publishers, or performers during this period is notable for its inclusion of some of the most prominent Scottish musicians of the entire eighteenth century. William Thompson (c.1684-c.1752), who had been involved in the musical scene in Edinburgh as a child, moved to London in 1722 and went on to publish the sumptuous *Orpheus Caledonius* in 1725. Similarly the composer and violinist William McGibbon (1696-1756) travelled to London to study under William Corbet (1680-1748), before moving back to Scotland and establishing himself by the end of the 1730s as the foremost violinist in Edinburgh.[68]

Although Allan Ramsay remained in Scotland his entire life, his distance from the English capital did nothing to hinder his, or indeed any other Scottish musician's, chances of establishing their reputations across Britain. Indeed, by the end of the twenties, advertisements in the London press hailed him as 'the famous Allan Ramsay at Edinburgh'.[69] Similarly, without ever leaving Scotland, the mathematician and musician Alexander Malcolm (1685-1763) gained considerable fame through his highly influential *Treatise on Musick,* which packed a brief history of music (mostly classical and Biblical), a guide to tuning instruments, instructions on playing and composition, and lessons on what we would term today music 'theory', all into one best-selling volume.[70]

Ramsay's early works evidently succeeded in gaining a great deal of notice in London, for when he gathered together and published the collection *Poems* in 1721, the subscription list included many members of the English court and figures such as Alexander Pope, Richard Steele and Dr. John Arbuthnot. Indeed, even after his works had achieved status as 'best-sellers', Ramsay continued to strive for new patronage and recognition in London.[71] So, when

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[67] The original manuscript containing the minutes of the Easy Club is now lost, but was transcribed in full and can be found in Andrew Gibson's, *New Light on Allan Ramsay* (Edinburgh: William Brown, 1927), pp.35-63; See also, Andrews, *Literary Nationalism,* pp.32-36.

[68] David Johnson, *Scottish Fiddle Music in the Eighteenth Century: A Music Collection and Historical Study* 2nd edition (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997; orig. 1984), pp.x-xiv, 5-8, 35-39, 42-50 and 192-95.

[69] See for example, the advertisement for *The Tea-Table Miscellany* in *The Country Journal; Or, the Craftsman,* November 9, 1728.

[70] Alexander Malcolm, *A Treatise of Musick: Speculative, Practical and Historical* (Edinburgh: 1721). A new edition of Malcolm's *Treatise* was printed in London by J. Osbourn and Longman in 1730. For an in-depth analysis of the impact and nature of Malcolm's work, see, R. Stone, *An Evaluative Study of Alexander Malcolm's "Treatise of Musick: Speculative, Practical and Historical"'* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Catholic University of America, 1974).

[71] He courted Lord and lady Queensbury, the influential London based aristocrats, by sending them three flattering poems. They can be found in the BL, Egerton Papers, 2023, ff.7r, 93v and 99; Also, 'Letter dated April 30, 1734', NAS, Penicuik Papers, GD18/4336 (55).

preparing his second quarto of the *Poems* in 1727*,* it is hardly surprising to find him writing to Alexander Brodie (Lord Lyon), asking him to, 'Hook in as many as ye can for me', and in particular to pursue the subscription of 'Sir Robert Walpool [sic], that I may mark him in my list'.[72]

Far from being dismissive or hostile towards the English markets Ramsay was acutely concerned with his reputation in London. On at least one occasion he stepped in to personally demand a London newspaper republish his *Ode to the Memory of the Duchess of Hamilton*, which, he complained, they had recently printed 'alter'd' and 'curtail'd' in a manner not 'to its Advantage'.[73] He might also have been concerned with dispelling any notion that Scottish culture, coming from a less 'advanced' country, might be too 'rude' for English tastes. Certainly, he had fun with such assumptions, putting them into the mouths of English entertainers who performed in Edinburgh. When Anthony Aston, the Englishman responsible for the one-man Scottish entertainment at London's Crown Tavern, embarked on a lengthy tour of Britain, he stayed in Edinburgh for several years (1726-28). Evidently Aston and Ramsay met and became friends, for Ramsay penned some verses with which Aston could ingratiate himself with the Scottish crowds.[74] 'Tis I – dear Caledonians, blythsome Tony', he introduced himself, 'that of last Winter, pleas'd the Brave and Bonny. With medly, merry song and comick scene. Thou south the Tweed the Dastards said, "He never will succeed: What! Such a country look for any good in! That does not relish Plays – nor Pork, - nor pudding!"[75]

Scots were also alive to the fact that Scottish 'rudeness' was ripe for satire when set alongside the considerable success of Scottish music in London. John Couper (dates unknown), a native Scot and former Kirk's Treasurer in Edinburgh, moved south to study English at Oxford and, in 1720, published a pamphlet entitled *Bag-Pipes no Musick* that simultaneously pointed out the success Scottish music was enjoying 'down south', whilst playing with the notion that Scottish music was a din of cow bells and horns. 'Scotch Moggy may go down at Aberdeen', he wrote,

> Where Bonnets, Bag-pipers, and plaids are seen;
> But such poor Gear no harmony can sute,
> Much better for a Jew's trump than a lute:
> Low Bells, not Lyres, the highland Cliffs adorn,
> Maclean's loud halloo, or MacGreigor's Horn.

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[72] Letter to Alexander Brodie, Lord Lyon, February 11, 1727, NLS*,* Jacobite Papers, Ms. 1695. f.163.
[73] The *British Journal*, November 14, 1724, No. 113.
[74] Ramsay must have thought highly of Aston. He defended him on charges of being a disreputable drunk in a pamphlet titled *Some Hints in Defence of Dramatical Entertainment* (Edinburgh: c.1728), NLS*,* H.32.e.30
[75] Ramsay published the 'Prologue' he had written for Aston in his *Poems* (1728)*;* Mention of ' not relishing plays' was probably a cry of frustration from Ramsay who had been unsuccessful in his campaign for a Scottish theatre. On Ramsay's extensive campaign to overturn British laws restricting the number of royally patented playhouses, see Martin, *Allan Ramsay*, pp.111-123.

> ...Leave Ramsay's clan to follow their own Ways,
> And while they mumble Thistles, wear the Bays.[76]

Given that Ramsay was so concerned with his reputation down south, it seems likely that he would have paid attention to the ways he was being represented to his English audience. I suggest that an analysis of the portraits that accompanied Ramsay's publications provide us with additional information about the ways he wanted to be projected and, about his sense of 'British' identity. Three images in particular demonstrate dramatic alterations in Ramsay's appearance and reflect some of the various ways in which he, as a poet and 'musician', wished to appear. The three engravings are based upon two portraits of Ramsay by well-known Scottish painters. The first is reputed to have been inspired by John Smibert's (1688-1751) lost portrait of Ramsay, now known only from the engraving which appears in the front matter to Ramsay's 1721 edition of the *Poems.*[77] The second and third are supposedly based upon a chalk drawing sketched by Ramsay's son, Allan Ramsay junior (1713-1784), in 1729 when the artist was just fifteen years old.[78]

In the first engraving, from 1721 (Fig. 3), Ramsay is depicted half-body and enclosed within an oval frame, crowned by the Scottish emblem of a thistle. He stares out at the reader, his lips slightly apart, as if about to recite, and an indication that perhaps his works owed much to the 'oral' tradition. What is most striking and perhaps most significant about the portrait, is Ramsay's dress. He is presented to us wearing a slashed doublet, a garment that had gone out of fashion in England by around the time of the Restoration.[79] He also wears a belted, or possibly a full-length, plaid draped over his shoulder and tucked under his arm. His shaved head is only partially covered by a cloth cap, on which is pinned a badge depicting the cross of St. Andrew.

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[76] John Couper, *Bag-Pipes no Musick: A Satyre on Scots Poetry* (Oxford: 1720), NLS*,* Ry.III.c.36 (071).
[77] An engraving by George Vertue, upon which the 1721 *Poems* engraving is based, contains an inscription indicating that the image was originally by 'J. Smibert'. The engraving is now in the NPG, picture reference, D27585.
[78] Alastair Smart, *Allan Ramsay: Painter, Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992) pp. 16-17; The only other known portrait of Allan Ramsay senior is by William Aikman (1682-1731) and was painted for Ramsay's patron Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. It is now in the collection of the NGS, No. 973.
[79] Eileen Riberio, *Dress and Morality,* 2nd edition (Oxford: Berg, 2003; orig. London: Batsford, 1986), p.87.

Figure 3: ‘Allan Ramsay’ by I. Vercruysse, after John Smibert. Engraving, from the front page to Ramsay’s *Poems* (Edinburgh: 1721).

The attire is unusual, and is unlike almost anything else worn in images of Scottish figures from this period. Ramsay is depicted in mid-seventeenth-century highland attire. If we compare Ramsay’s depiction to a portrait of Andrew Macpherson of Cluny (fig. 4), then the

similarities become apparent; in both we can note the use of the slashed doublet and the plaid looped over the shoulder.[80] Overall the piece is making a series of statements about Ramsay's sense of identity. He was not by birth or habitation a highlander, yet, he clearly saw the sound and look of highland culture as something distinctly Scottish and to be celebrated. This is not the attire of a man trying to Anglicise his appearance or mask his Scottish identity. His image sends a clear statement, not just about the author's Scottish heritage, but also about the place Scottish culture deserved on the shelves of 'Britons' across the nation.

Figure 4: 'Andrew Mcpherson' (1640-1666). Oil on canvas, by Richard Waitt, c.1720. 76.20 x 64.10 cm. National Galleries of Scotland, PG. 1546.

However, towards the end of the 1720s, Ramsay must have considered the likeness in need of replacement. The image finally selected is something of an enigma in terms of its dating. It appears in the fourth edition of the *Poems,* published, according to the front piece, in Edinburgh in 1727. Written below is the inscription 'a Ramsay Junr, del. R Cooper Sculp', with the implication being that the engraving by Cooper is based on a drawing by Allan Ramsay junior and, indeed, the image is clearly based upon Allan Ramsay junior's chalk drawing of his father, now held in the National Portrait Gallery in Scotland.[81] However, according to an

[80] This depiction of Macpherson is not believed to be contemporary to the man. It is thought to have been painted around 1720, making it contemporary to the Ramsay engraving. It none-the-less depicts a highland clansman in mid-seventeenth-century period dress.
[81] NGS, portrait number 2023.

inscription written on the reverse by Allan Ramsay senior, the portrait was the first ever attempted by his son and is dated 1729, which raises an obvious chronological dilemma.[82]

Regardless, the image was clearly designed to convey a completely different perception of the author. It is evident, from his involvement in the Easy Club, and from his admiration for writers such as John Gay (1675-1732), that Ramsay was not hostile towards English poets and English poetry. And in the second portrait (fig. 5), Ramsay is presented to us as the typical Augustan poet.[83] Gone are the frame and brick background and in its place we have a more simple, more refined half-length image of Ramsay set within an oval frame. Gone too is the attire of a bygone highland era, replaced instead by the clothing of an Augustan poet at rest (fig. 6). Wig removed, his head is covered by the turban, so familiar in images and busts of poets of the period.[84] Most striking of all, he appears below the ribs as a classical bust, with arms removed to complete the suggestion.

[82] There are three possibilities. Firstly, the front material to the 1727 Edinburgh publication is a later edition, secondly, Allan Ramsay junior produced an earlier sketch of his father upon which the engraving is dated, or finally, the date of 1729 on the reverse of the chalk portrait is incorrect.

[83] Allan Ramsay, had for some time been an admirer of John Gay, and expressed sentiments to that effect in a letter written to his friend Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. See his letter in the NAS, Clerk of Penicuik Papers, GD18. 4323 (27).

[84] Poets were not the only ones depicted wearing their informal, 'indoor' clothing. Musicians were also depicted in this way. See for example, the informality and clothing worn by George Frederick Handel in Louis Francis Roubiliac's statue of 1738, on display at the V & A, Museum No. A.3-1965.

Figure 5: 'Allan Ramsay', inscribed 'a Ramsay Junr, del. R Cooper Sculp'. Engraving, from the front page to Ramsay's *Poems* (Edinburgh: 1727).

The image might seem to suggest that Ramsay had sacrificed the prominent sense of Scottish identity so prevalent in the earlier engraving. And yet, by appearing as an Augustan poet, in a work celebrating Scottish poetry and music, Ramsay not only offered up deference to the Augustan writers he so admired, he also made a bold statement to his readers about the equal status of Scottish and English culture. Indeed, Scots had, for some time, remarked on

Ramsay's right to be ranked alongside England's finest such as, 'Rosecommon, Stanhope' and 'Dryden'.[85]

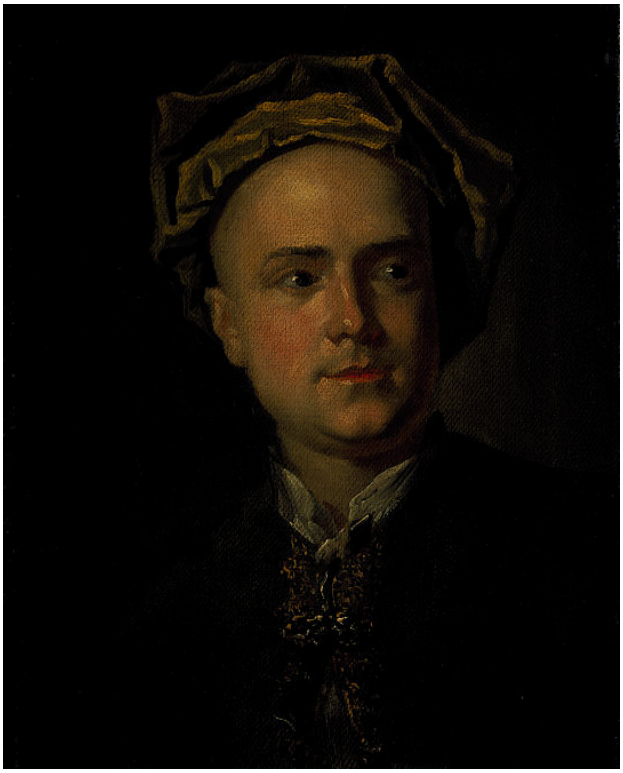

Figure 6: 'John Gay' (1675-1732), English poet and dramatist. Oil on Canvas, by William Aikman c.1720. 48.90 x 36.80 cm (without frame). National Galleries of Scotland, PG. 718. Ramsay greatly admired many of Gay's works. I include his portrait to highlight the similarities between the way an English Augustan poet could be depicted and the portrait of Ramsay from the 1727 *Poems*. Note the similar side-ways glance, the unbuttoned shirt and the turban.

It seems likely that Ramsay was set upon ensuring the place of Scottish music in the British market place. Although many of the melodies in the *Scots Songs* would certainly have been familiar to English audiences, it was Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* that seems to signal a definite desire to broaden his appeal and project his 'British' status. The publication was Ramsay's most comprehensive collection of Scottish songs and appeared in 1724. First published in Edinburgh, Ramsay makes it clear from the outset that his *Tea-Table*, unlike his *Scots Songs* which was dedicated to the ladies of Scotland, was designed to appeal to a much broader British market. The piece is dedicated, in language that from the outset makes use of the Scottish vernacular, to 'Ilka [every] lovely *British* lass'.[86] The 'Augustan' portrait of Ramsay

[85] Pate Birnie, *Grubstreet nae Satyre: In Answer to Bag-pipes no Musick* (Edinburgh: 1720), NLS, RY.III c.36 (072).
[86] Allan Ramsay, *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1724), p.iii. Italics are my own.

(1727) would therefore have been the first likeness to reach the London markets after the initial success of his *Tea-Table.*

Like his *Scots Songs, The Tea-Table Miscellany* actually contained a rather mixed selection of both English and Scottish melodies. *The Broom of Cowdenknows*, for example was familiar to Englishmen and Scots prior to Ramsay's publication. In Edinburgh, at least one anonymous broadside of this song, dating to 1716, has survived.[87] We know also, because Samuel Pepys acquired one for his collection, that the song had been in circulation in London from at least the first half of the seventeenth century.[88] Many of the songs used within the publication certainly have some claim to being 'genuinely' Scottish. *Nanny-o* was almost certainly of Scottish origin however, that did not mean that English audiences were unfamiliar with it. Indeed, a song entitled *In Commemoration of Royal Nann* was in circulation in London, with the same rhythm and stanza formation, in c.1714.[89] Another edition, which circulated as a single song sheet under the title of *My Nanny O,* was printed in London and pre-dates Ramsay's publication by four years.[90]

The potential familiarity of English audiences with at least some of the content of Ramsay's *Tea-Table* makes it extremely unlikely that the publication functioned, as Leith Davis has suggested, as an assault upon the 'English cultural hegemony'. So too, her claim, repeated by Murray Pittock, that Ramsay did not include any English songs in his publications until the 1737 edition of the *Tea-Table,* appears problematic in light of the number of English songs in all of his previous publications.[91] The success and popularity of Ramsay's *Tea-Table* suggests that, if anything, the English embraced Ramsay's 'national' reclaiming, re-working and exportation of Caledonian culture. Indeed, Ramsay's publication was just one amongst a number of publications by Scottish collectors and composers which met with success in London during this period.

William Thompson's *Orpheus Caledonius* was a sumptuous publication, designed to appeal to the higher end of the music market. Leith Davis's claims that the inclusion of both score and lyric offered resistance to the British 'hierarchization' of the arts', must be called into question, not only because, as we have seen, such a claim sits ill with the writings on poetry and music being published in England at the time, but also by the astounding success enjoyed by both Ramsay's and Thompson's publications. If the combination of lyrics and score problematised English conceptions of cultural hierarchy it evidently did not prevent England's cultural and literary elites from lavishing money upon the work. Thompson's subscription list is

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[87] *An Excellent [sic] New Song Entituled, the New Way of The broom of Cowden* (Edinburgh: John Reed, 1716), NLS. Ry.III.a.10(7).
[88] It can be found under the title of 'The New Broome' in the Pepys Ballad Collection dated to 1635, *Pepys*, i, p.40; Ramsay made use of the song three times in his *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1724), pp.25-27, 31, 56.
[89] The song had been adapted in commemoration of Queen Anne. BL, Ms. 1876. f.1 (67).
[90] *My Nanny O* (London: 1720), BL. G.305 (p.140).
[91] Davis, 'At "Sang About"', p.191; The claims are repeated by Pittock in 'Allan Ramsay and the Decolonisation of Genre', p.2.

even more extensive than the list Ramsay achieved for the *Poems*: The Queensbury's, Lord Burlington, Henry Pelham and Robert Walpole, all make an appearance.[92]

The title was clearly based upon Henry Playford's massively successful compendium of Purcell's music the *Orpheus Britanicus,* and doubtless Thompson hoped that the association would do his own publication no harm. Thompson, lacking a Scottish composer of renown, compiled a collection of Scottish songs to be presented as Caledonia's finest musical offering. This was, perhaps, one of the first instances of 'Scottish songs' being presented as a collective source of national pride - a practice that would become increasingly common as the century progressed. By linking Scottish music to England's most admired composer, Thompson was making a statement about the position and popularity of Scottish music within Britain.

It is worth returning to the portraits that accompanied Ramsay's publications to see the extent to which his Scottish-British credentials were established (by the 1730s). Any sense of Scottish symbolism that was lost in the c.1727 image can be seen returning in the image (fig. 7) which adorned the inside cover of his 1733, three-volume, ninth edition of *The Tea-Table Miscellany*. This was the first edition of this hugely popular work to be printed in London rather than Edinburgh, and Ramsay (or at least his London-based, Scottish publisher Alan Miller) made the most of the opportunity to demonstrate Ramsay's desires to reconcile the two cultures.[93] The image is crude, but is arguably designed to amalgamate the national identities suggested by the two previous representations. Hence, Ramsay retains his poet's 'uniform', but this time with a jacket that is patterned with tartan. To make his Scottish 'national' identity clear, the artist resorts to symbolism, adorning each corner of the rectangular frame with a thistle. Meanwhile, the musical nature of the publication is symbolised by the addition of a song sheet, just below the thistle, on the right hand side of the frame and by a set of bagpipes set at the same height on the left side of the frame. The image is trying to convey to the viewer a sense that the poetical influences are English, but the music, the sound of the songs are Scottish.

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[92] Preface to William Thompson, *Orpheus Caledonius: Or a Collection of the best Scotch Songs* (London: Printed for the author, 1725).

[93] We know that Ramsay senior took an active role in dealing with the presentation of his publications. In a letter to Andrew Miller, Ramsay senior negotiated the rights to print the three volume *Tea-Table Miscellany* and he added in a post-script that his son, Allan Ramsay Junior, was to cast an eye over it for approval before it went to press. Letter to Andrew Miller, dated July 13, 1732, *The Gentleman's Magazine* April, (1853), No. xxxix, p.370; Allan Ramsay Junior had moved to London to take up an apprenticeship at Hysing's studio in July 1732, and so would have been perfectly able to deal with the London based printed in person; On Ramsay Junior's move south see, Alastair Smart, *Allan Ramsay: Painter, Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp.17-18; However, publishers did occasionally take the liberty of personally selecting the images and frontispieces for their client's publications. Bertrand Harris Bronson, *Printing as an Index of Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: New York Public Library, 1958), p.20.

Figure 7: 'Allan Ramsay', inscribed 'a. Ramsay Junr delin. G. King Sculp sit'. Engraving, from the front page to Ramsay's *The Tea-Table Miscellany: Or, A Collection of Scots Sangs,* 3 vols. (London: 1733).

To judge by the sheer number of Scottish entertainments occurring almost weekly, 1733 was certainly a good year in which to sell and produce music as a Scot on the London market. Indeed, to judge by the sheer volume and frequency of these performances, 1732-1736 seems to have been the 'peak' of this taste for Scotch entertainments.[94] Between these years we also see a

[94] Of the 468 known performances of 'Scotch' entertainments during this period 318 occurred during the years 1732-36. The figures are tabulated from the total listed entries for the respective seasons in *The London Stage, 1660-1800,* 5 vols. Figures obtained from performances recorded in vols. ii (1960) and iii (1961).

greater diversity of acts appearing across London, as the major venues sought to stage rival 'Scotch' entertainments to lure in the crowds. Quite often Scotch dances and songs formed part of larger productions and would be performed in-between acts or as an afterpiece. For example, at the Lincoln's Inn theatre in 1728, we are told that during a production of *Hamlet*, 'At the Desire of several Persons of Quality Mrs Barbier will sing four Scotch...Ballads between the Acts'.[95] Similarly, during *A Bold Stroke for a Wife* at Lincoln's Inn, we are told simply, that in between acts 'Several English and Scottish Ballads' were performed by a 'Miss Warren'.[96]

Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields staged no fewer than ninety-seven Scottish musical entertainments across the 1732-33 and 1733-34 seasons.[97] The number of performers taking part in these spectacles also seems to have risen significantly. Performing the Scottish dance at Covent Garden, where once (up until 1732) one performer had met demand, we now find listed the talents of 'Glover, Mrs Languerre, du Pre, Mrs Pelling, de la Grade and Mrs Ogden'.[98] This new troop of performers even enjoyed a Royal performance, it being reported in January that year that, 'By their Majesties Command' a 'new Scottish' entertainment had been requested.[99] A similar 'expansion' occurred at the rival theatre royal on Drury Lane, where a 'Haughton and Walter' were drafted in by the management to offer Scottish entertainments between the acts.[100]

Managing Scotland's British identity:

In the 'internal colonialism' reading of British history, it is argued that the English conflated the 'peripheral' (Irish, Scottish and Welsh) cultures of Britain into a 'Celtic fringe'.[101] Hence, Leith Davis has suggested that, in the early eighteenth century, English 'cultural printed collections' served to homogenize the 'geographical and cultural peripheries of Britain' by mixing together, without differentiating between them, songs from Scotland, Wales and Ireland.[102] However, an analysis of song publications from the 1720s and 1730s challenges this assessment. We might begin by noting that collections containing only Scottish and Irish songs were outnumbered considerably by publications featuring Scottish and *English* songs.[103]

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[95] *Daily Journal,* March 18, 1728.
[96] *Daily Journal,* July 12, 1728.
[97] The music and theatre seasons in London ran roughly from October to June. See the 'Introduction' to, *The London Stage, 1660-1800,* Vol. iii (1961).
[98] The one entertainer was Mrs. Bullock, who seems to have found employment at the start of the following season, being listed as performing 'A Scot's Dance' at Goodman's-Fields Theatre in the *Daily Post,* Monday, October 15, 1733. She was also presumably the same Mrs. Bullock who had a booth at the Bartholomew Fair.
[99] *Daily Journal,* Tuesday, January 23, 1733 and Wednesday, January 24, 1733.
[100] 'For the Benefit of Mr. Johnson', *Daily Post*, Thursday, March 15, 1733.
[101] Hechter, *Internal Colonialism,* pp.xvi, 10-11.
[102] Davis, 'At Sang About', p.189.
[103] Very few Scottish and Irish (or Welsh) publications were actually produced in the first half of the century and many of the more popular examples, such as *Aria di Camera: Being a Choice Selection of Scotch, Irish and Welsh Airs* (c.1730) by Alexander Urquahart, were produced by Scots.

In the vast majority of publications, the national origins of the songs were clearly labelled. We can contrast this with pre-Union publications in which it was highly unusual for the title of a music book to mention the national origin of the songs. Collections from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, often had whimsical titles, such as *The Garland of Goodwill,* and contained songs recently performed on the stage.[104] In contrast, few song collections were published by the 1730s that *did not* state the national flavour of the songs in the title. We have already seen numerous examples of Scottish song publications of this nature, but a few English examples included *Wit Musically Embellished: Being a Collection of Forty English Ballads* and *A Choice Collection of English Songs.*[105] Indeed, English publishers stressed the national origins of the songs when marketing their collections. For example, when *The Syren,* went on sale in 1737, the only information the publisher took the trouble to include in the advertisement, other than the title and where it could be purchased, was the fact that it was 'a collection of 430 of the most celebrated Scottish and English songs'.[106]

All this suggests that, by the 1730s, distinguishing between the national origins of the songs contained within collections seems to have been of interest to publishers and consumers alike. It is worth remembering that, beyond 1718, the English had become accustomed to collections that dwelt on the specifically Scottish origins of their content. They were used to distinguishing between English and Scottish songs and no attempt was ever made to cast English songs as 'British', in order to marginalise the Scottish sound. Indeed, the English applied the term 'British' to song culture in a very particular and careful way. They created 'British' song publications and staged 'British' musical events in which 'British' was used as a hyponym, an 'umbrella term', to incorporate, acknowledge and preserve the two distinct song cultures, leaving them intact 'beneath'. For example, at Lincoln's Inn Fields on Wednesday, 27 March, 1728 the management staged 'A British Concert, consisting of English, Scotch and Irish ballads', which the puff claimed was 'The first performance of its kind'.[107] By 1734 the first volume of *The British Musical Miscellany: Being a Collection of Celebrated English and Scots Songs,* appeared in London and proved successful enough to spawn a sixth volume by 1736. And in 1739, John Lampe created the *Musical Magazine,* under the title of *British Melody,* which consisted of 'a large variety of English and Scottish airs'.[108]

The notion of a 'Celtic' (Scottish and Irish) musical culture linked by common ancestry was almost certainly a phenomenon of the second half of the century, and, if the writings of

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[104] Thomas Deloney, *The Garland of Goodwill* (London: c.1700).
[105] John Frederick Lampe, *Wit Musically Embellished: Being a Collection of Forty English Ballads* (London: Printed for the Author, 1731); George F. Handel, *A Choice Collection of English Songs* (London: I. Walsh, c.1731).
[106] The advertisement was for the second edition, published the following year. See, the *London Evening Post,* August 8, 1738; Only one copy of *The Syren* seems to have survived, and can be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. *The Syren: Containing a Collection of Four Hundred and Thirty of the most Celebrated English Songs,* 2nd edition (London: J. Osborn, 1737).
[107] Advertised in the *Daily Journal,* March 18, 22, 25, 26, 1728.
[108] John Frederick Lampe, *British Melody; Or, The Musical Magazine, Consisting of a Large Variety of English and Scottish Airs* (London: B. Cole, 1739).

James Macpherson are anything to go by, was probably generated and promoted largely by Irish and Scottish authors.[109] Regardless, the English made no attempts, certainly in the first half of the century, to meld 'Celtic' musical cultures together. Instead, they continued to differentiate between English, Scottish and Irish songs, and where they did attempt to apply a 'British' label, seems to have been 'superimposed' onto older alignments and loyalties.[110] However, the caveat to such a conclusion would be that, in this instance, the use of the word 'British' in song publications doesn't sit comfortably with the word 'superimposed'. For something to be superimposed it must be discernible in its own right, it must be, in some way different to the 'thing' it is being set over or adjoining. In the instances mentioned above, 'Britishness' seems to have been little more than a shell, an acknowledgement of the existence of a legal entity called 'Britain' that incorporated several distinct cultures beneath.

Although they might not have attempted to meld 'Celtic' cultures, the English did try to manage 'Scottishness' through songs. It has been claimed, however, that within early-to-mid eighteenth-century English culture, Scots were typically characterised as backward and brutish Jacobites.[111] However, the notion that much English culture of this period was 'racist' in its depiction of Scots is a gross oversimplification of the range of ways the English imagined 'Scottishness'.[112] Certainly, some English songs were little more than crude portraits, built upon shallow stereotypes. But this was not always the case. Indeed, the majority of songs were in fact attempts, albeit often patronising ones, to imagine more amiable Scots with whom the English thought they could do business.

One Scotch song that appeared in several broadsides and publications, offered a very particular message of hope for reconciliation with the highlanders, who, because of the support shown by some clans for the Stuart cause, became the 'Scot' that the English most frequently reimagined. *The Loyal Highland Lass* tells the story of a Scottish woman who trudges from Edinburgh to Hannover and then on to London looking for her lost 'Sawney'. For much of the song the listener is led to believe that her Highland soldier is probably off fighting against the English. However, the final verse of the song reveals, in a synthesised Scottish vernacular, that 'Sawney did only goe, to Fetch home George our King', who he was in fact fighting for.[113]

The song (fig. 8) is an English affectation, not only of Scottish dialogue, but also of Scottish music. The rhythm lacks any of the movement derived from the dotted beats found in most genuine Scottish melodies. The melody ascends and descends around a D major triad and

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[109] Katie Trumpener has charted the appearance of, what she calls, the 'first wave' of 'Celtic revival' in the final decades of the eighteenth century. This included, in Ireland, the revival of 'ancient' Irish songs. See, Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism,* p.10; On the 'Celtic' ancestry of Scottish songs, as explored by numerous Scottish writers in the second half of the century, see chapter four of this thesis.

[110] The notion that a sense of Britishness was 'superimposed' over English and Scottish identities is made by, Colley, *Britons* (2005), p.5.

[111] Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting,* pp.23-4.

[112] Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting,* pp.23-4.

[113] J. Walsh, *A Collection of Original Scots Songs with a Thorough Bass to Each Song* (London: J. Walsh, 1732), p.82.

the note G is occasionally skipped, until finally appearing in bars nine and ten. This is a 'trick', not uncommon in English 'Scotch songs', and is designed to create the impression of a hexatonic scale and so give the song some semblance of a Scottish sound.

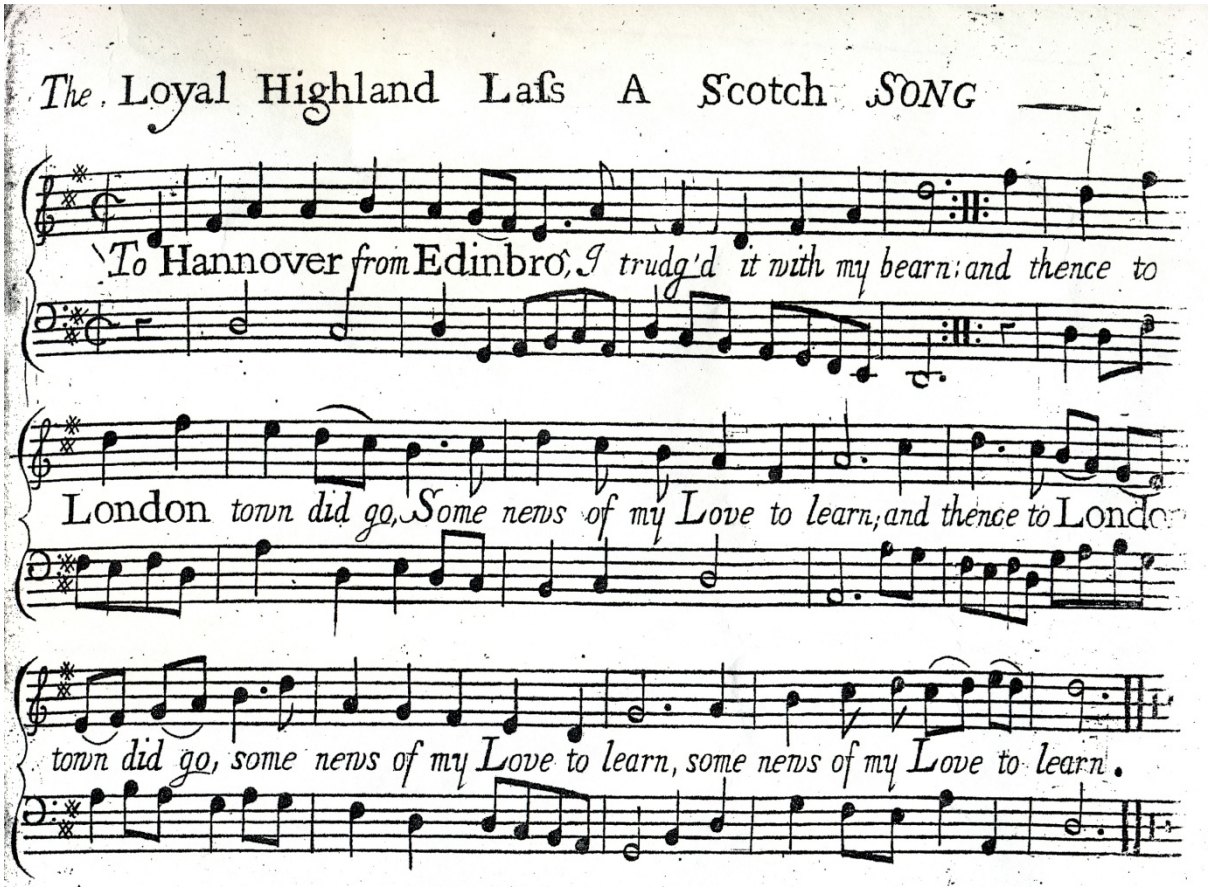

Figure 8: 'The Loyal Highland Lass'. Taken from *A Collection of Scots Songs* (London: I. Walsh, 1732). Musical scores were often poorly printed in the early eighteenth century. Note, in bar eleven, the printer's mistake in adding an extra beat.

The English response to Scottish culture and to the Scottish people was very complex and to suggest that the English were not sometimes guilty of Anglicising Scottish song would be artificial. An analysis of an incident involving Allan Ramsay's ballad opera *The Gentle Shepherd,* demonstrates some of the subtle ways the English adapted and Anglicised Scottish songs and some of the reasons they gave to explain their actions. However, as I have emphasised throughout this chapter, a great deal of exchange between English and Scottish songs took place during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hence, *The Gentle Shepherd* also contains an example of a seventeenth-century English 'Scotch song' that Ramsay 'Scottified' for his ballad opera, only to have it re-Anglicised years later for the London stage.

Allan Ramsay's pastoral *The Gentle Shepherd* was originally published in 1724, but, following the success of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera,* Ramsay reworked his pastoral into a

ballad opera, changing amongst other things, the number of 'sangs' from four to twenty-one.[114] This adapted version made its first appearance on the stage in 1729, and met with mixed success. Steve Newman has suggested that the *Gentle Shepherd* represented one of the few instances of Scottish culture as a profitable export within the Union.[115] However, given the massive boom in the taste for Scottish music across this period, it is perhaps better to see the *Gentle Shepherd* as part of a broad taste for Scottish entertainments. Newman further suggests that the play was a great success, citing the one hundred and twenty editions of the work produced by 1900 as evidence. Yet, I would point out that in London the revised ballad opera received just one performance that took place at the York buildings in November of 1732.[116] After that the piece was not performed again until 1746, beyond which it enjoyed more success, eventually receiving seventy-one performances by the end of the century. Therefore, although a triumph when viewed over a wide expanse of time, the figures indicate that *The Gentle Shepherd* was not well received by London audiences until the second half of the century.

One plausible explanation for the ballad-opera's relative failure in 1732 was because its contents had been hijacked for the London stage by Theophilus Cibber (1703-1758), one of the Cibber family who dominated the London theatres, both on and off the stage, during the early-to-mid eighteenth century. Cashing in on the highly buoyant market for both Scottish music and ballad operas, Cibber reworked Ramsay's extended version of the *Gentle Shepherd* into *Patie and Peggy,* a production he described as a 'Scotch Ballad Opera'. It arrived on the London stage in April of 1730, two years before the first staging of Ramsay's adaptation of *The Gentle Shepherd* and met with reasonable success. It was performed at Drury Lane across November and December that same year, and was revised in April and May the following year, and once again at Goodman's Fields theatre in November 1735.

In terms of the basic arrangement of the two pieces, Cibber deviated little from Ramsay's original. The plot is essentially the same and tells the story of the two central characters Patie and Peggy and their attempts to remain a couple despite Patie's elevated social status as the son of an aristocrat and Peggy's 'lowly' standing as a milkmaid. Cibber did remove the characters of Elspa, Madge and Bauldy from the original, but it is his treatment of the music and the language that is revealing.

In his preface Cibber acknowledges his debt to Ramsay, whilst simultaneously claiming credit for the conversion of the original pastoral into a ballad opera. 'I am indebted to Mr. Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd for the greatest part of the following piece' he admitted, before going on to claim that realising the pastoral's potential to 'not prove unentertaining to an

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[114] The original pastoral of *The Gentle shepherd* contained only four songs. *The Gentle shepherd: A Scots Pastoral Comedy* (Edinburgh: Thomas Ruddiman, 1725), pp.24, 32-33, 57, 88-89.
[115] Newman, *Ballad Collection, Lyric and the Canon,* p.60.
[116] Avery, *London Stage,* 5 vols. (1961), iii, p.252.

English audience', he decided to 'turn it into a Ballad Opera'.[117] Cibber then goes on to explain that he has 'change[d]' the whole production 'into the English dialect...without which', he claims, 'it had not been intelligible to our Audience'. Indeed, when the second edition of the *Gentle Shepherd* went on sale in London in 1730 with Ramsay's additional songs, the advertisements lead with the fact that this 'new edition' now contained 'A Copious Glossary, or explanation of the Scots words'.[118] This was, however, hardly exceptional at that time. Many of Ramsay's song collections had been sold with similar material. Indeed, it is arguable that the willingness of English readers to buy and 'translate' Scottish poetry demonstrates, if anything, a desire to engage with Scottish culture.

Of the twenty-two songs Cibber included in his ballad opera, nine share similarities with the twenty-one songs from Ramsay's 1729 reworking. Evidently Cibber had a copy of Ramsay's ballad opera to hand, for many of the song titles are identical to those found in Ramsay's extended adaptation. Cibber seems also to have commissioned one or two 'New Scotch Tune[s]' and borrowed other popular melodies, such as *O'er the Hills and Far Away,* which featured in Gay's *Beggar's Opera,* and was becoming synonymous around this time with songs about two Scottish characters named Jockey and Jenny. In addition, Cibber plundered melodies from collections like the *Orpheus Caledonius.* Indeed, several of the songs found in Thompson's popular collection, for example *Fy gar rub her o'er wi' strae'* (rub her over with straw), are musically identical to the versions that appeared in *Patie and Peggy*.

Analysis of the music contained within Cibber's Anglicised *Patie and Peggy*, make it apparent that Cibber's 'Scots ballad opera' was an eclectic combination of synthetic 'Scots songs' and 'genuine' Scottish melodies. It also becomes apparent that Cibber and his in-house musicians 'Anglicised' some of the music as well alongside the dialogue. In part, this would have been a practical necessity, for having altered some of Ramsay's dialogue, Cibber would have needed to have tailored aspects of some of the music to fit the metre of the new verse. However, we should be cautious in placing too firm a divide between the two cultures and regarding this as an English act of sanitisation. Some of the songs in Ramsay's ballad operas do not sound remotely Scottish. For example, *The Bonny Grey-ey'd Morn'* contains no gapped scale and there is nothing Scottish about the rhythm. Ramsay cannot have failed to notice how un-Scottish the piece sounds, and indeed, its presence in London as a broadside in the 1690s, make it highly probable that the piece was actually an English 'Scotch song'.[119] Unlike many of the other songs, Ramsay made no effort to give the melody Scottish lyrics, allowing Cibber to lift the verse without need for 'translation'.

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[117] Theophilus Cibber, *Patie and Peggy: Or, The Fair Foundling, A Scotch Ballad Opera* (London: J. Watts, 1731).
[118] The *Daily Journal,* March 17, 1730.
[119] A copy of a song called, *A Scotch Song in the Fond Husband* can be found in the BL dated to the end of the seventeenth century. It is attributed to Jeremiah Clarke (c.1674-1707), pupil of John Blow and is sung to the tune of *The Bonny Grey—ey'd Morn* (London: c.1698).

The song *The Yellow-hair'd Ladie* appears as air fourteen in *Patie and Peggy* (fig. 9) and sang number ten in the *Gentle Shepherd* (fig. 10). In *Patie and Peggy* the song has only a single verse, and is sung by the character Jenny to Roger. By contrast, Ramsay's original contained five verses sung as a duet by the central characters Patie and Peggy.[120] Both songs are in the key of D, and both begin with a full scale run which misses out the note G to form a hexatonic scale. But there the similarities end. In Ramsay's version the use of ornamentation and dotted rhythm is prominent and gives the piece a thoroughly Scottish feel. By contrast, Cibber's musicians stripped-out much of the Scottish ornamentation, but kept the commonly deployed gapped scale, effectively converting the piece into an English style 'Scots songs'.


AIR XIV. Yellow-hair'd Ladie.

Jen. Oh Roger, *I own ſince now you ſpeak free,*
'Bove all other Swains I lik'd your Company;
And ever a Warmneſs I felt in my Breaſt,
That made you ſtill dearer to me than the reſt.
And ever, &c.

Figure 9: The song 'The Yellow Hair'd Ladie' from Theophilus Cibber's *Patie and Peggy* (London: 1731).

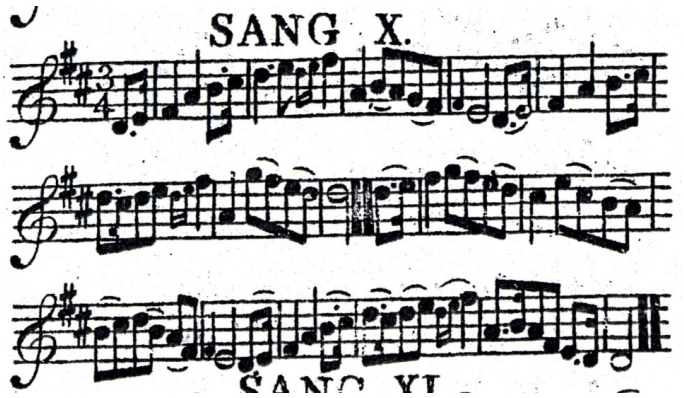

SANG X.

Figure 10: The song 'The Yellow Hair'd Ladie' from Allan Ramsay's ballad opera *The Gentle Shepherd* (Edinburgh: c.1736).

[120] Allan Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd, A Scots Pastoral Comedy: With the Songs* (Edinburgh: J. Robertson, c.1736), pp.40-41.

The song *Corn Riggs are Bonny* forms the climax to Ramsay's ballad opera (fig. 11) and appears as air number seven in Cibber's adaptation (fig. 12). Interestingly, Ramsay's version is not gapped. By contrast Cibber's adaptation, which is in the key of B (flat), misses the seventh note and is therefore hexatonic. However, aside from the scale, Cibber's interpretation omits all other Scottish signifiers, and he removes the Scottish rhythms that accompany the accent of Ramsay's lyrics. Here he makes only occasional use of the dotted crotchets and quavers which give Ramsay's piece more pace and creates, overall, a stronger sense of Scottish musical identity.

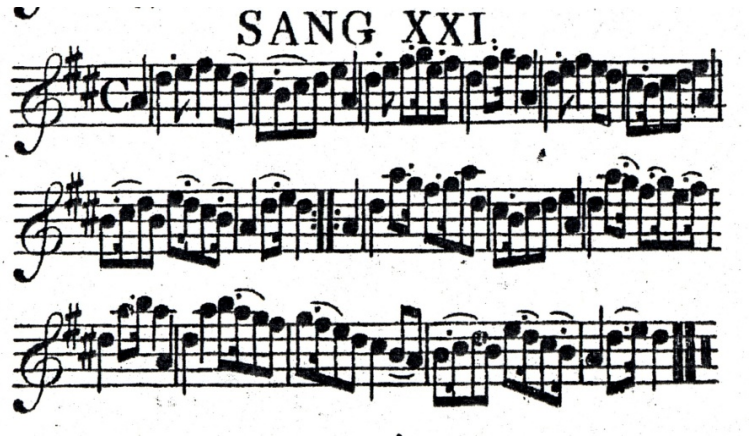


Figure 11: The song 'Corn Riggs are Bonny' from Allan Ramsay's ballad opera *The Gentle Shepherd* (Edinburgh: c.1736).

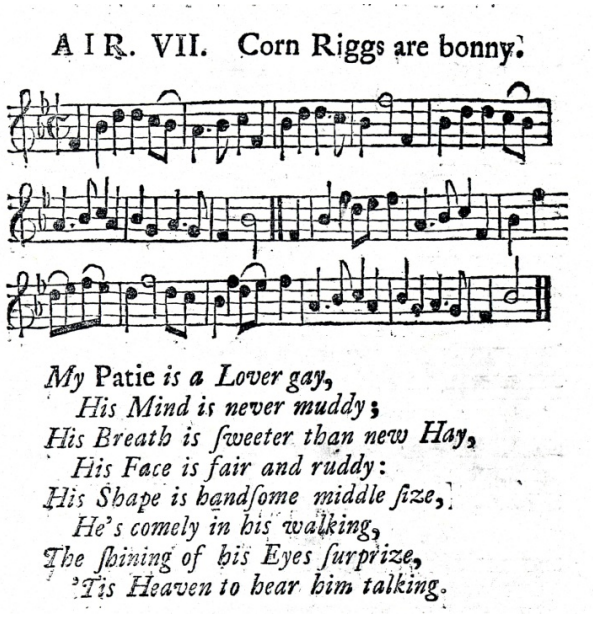
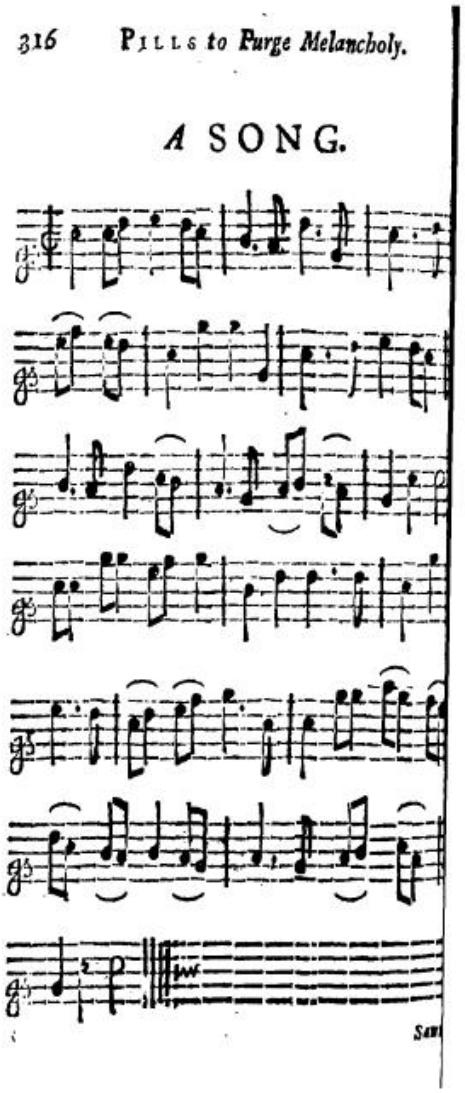


Figure 12: The song 'Corn Riggs are Bonny' from Theophilus Cibber's *Patie and Peggy* (London: 1731).

This would appear, at face value then, to be another example of Cibber's Anglicising of the Scottish sound. However, the melody to *Corn Riggs* dates to the 1670s and was in fact an English Scotch song written for Thomas D'Urfey's play *The Virtuous Wife* (1679). The original melody (fig.13) is lacking a gapped scale and the only Scottish elements are derived from the dotted rhythms. In Ramsay's adaptation (fig.11), the piece has been 'Scottified' by the copious use of dotted quavers and semi-quavers to create a much livelier, Scottish sound. When Cibber's musicians removed much of the rhythm from Ramsay's melody they were in fact (consciously or not) returning the song to something closer to its original form.


316 PILLS to Purge Melancholy.

A SONG.

Figure 13: 'Sawney was Tall and of Noble Race', in Henry Playford's *Wit and Mirth: Or, Pills to Purge Melancholy,* 4th edition, 5 vols. (London: 1719), i, p.316-17.

Cibber justified these alterations, as we have seen, by claiming that without them Ramsay's dialogue would have been difficult to follow for an English audience. In the 'opera's' prologue, however, he provided an additional justification. He suggests that, at present, many

Scots remain hostile towards the English, but this situation might be remedied by a broad English acceptance of Scottish song culture. English 'applause', he told his audiences, will make Scotland 'melt' and 'flow with love' and help to further extend the olive branch of peace between the two nations.

Ballad operas such as *The Gentle Shepherd* and *Patie and Peggy* therefore highlight the difficulties of viewing English actions through the narrow lens of 'colonialism'. Rather than demonstrating straightforward Anglicisation and disparagement, the episode reinforces the existence of an inter-connected 'British' song culture, and an English desire to engage with Scottish culture. Cultural exchange between the two kingdoms was two-way. Whilst Gay's *Beggar's Opera* travelled north to exert influence upon Ramsay, Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* went south, alongside a whole host of other Scottish song publications of the period. Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* might then have been 'naturalised' for the English stage, but Ramsay's original seems to have contained several English songs to begin with. And from the Englishman Cibber's perspective, the Anglicisation of *Patie and Peggy* was justified if such changes brought Scottish culture to a wider English audience and thereby helped to bring the two kingdoms closer together.

We are presented then, with a period of fluid cultural exchange in which it is arguable that a greater number of songs travelled from north to south, rather than the other way. In the 1730s however, when the national credentials of songs seem to have become such a pressing issue, the fortunes of Scottish songs in London changed. It is this trend that we now follow in chapter two.

Chapter two: 'When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food': song, masculinity and Englishness in London, c.1731-1763.

Towards the end of the 1730s and throughout the 1740s a range of English song books began to appear in the listings of publishers and book sellers across London. These new publications had several features in common: they all had verses written in the English language, they all contained music composed by an Englishman, and they were all calculated to encourage the consumption of English collections amongst elites and London's growing 'middling' ranks.[1] In other words, they were designed by many of the most prominent songwriters of the period to make English songs more acceptable to 'polite' society.

Up until the 1730s, English songs tended to appear in collections alongside songs of French, Italian, Scottish and Irish origins. Excepting collections of works by prominent native composers, such as Henry Purcell - and collections of deeply unfashionable sacred music - the English had precious few specifically native song collections.[2] Despite the efforts of figures such as Joseph Addison to raise the stock of native ballads, the English had few domestic song publications to place on the 'coffee table' alongside the wildly successful Scottish song collections of the previous decades. The songs of the streets and taverns might have found their way into the hands of gentlemen collectors, but 'common' songs were generally considered too base in their subject matter, and too crude and ill-balanced, in verse and melody, for performance in polite company. The sentiments expressed by one critic, that the 'unpolished homeliness' of 'common' English songs was an insult, amongst other things, to the 'art of poetry', were not atypical.[3]

To avoid such criticisms, these new publications tried anchoring their songs to figures who were well-established in the English poetic pantheon. So when Thomas Chilcot (1700-1766) composed and published his *Twelve English Songs* (1744) he set his music to various verses by Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe, in order to appeal to people with a taste, as he put it, for the 'Polite Arts'.[4] In this instance, Chilcot was rewarded with over three hundred subscribers, including many notable English musicians and society men, such as Charles Avison (c.1709-1770), William Boyce (1711-1779), Michael Festing (1705-1752), William Hayes (c.1708-1777), and Richard 'Beau' Nash.

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[1] The 'polite' aspirations of England's 'middling-sorts' are documented by Paul Langford in *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford: O.U.P, 1989), pp.61-121.

[2] Charles Burney tells us that sacred music fell completely out of fashion in England around the beginning of the century. Burney, *GHoM,* iv, p.631.

[3] Wagstaffe, *A Comment Upon the History of Tom Thumb,* pp.3-4; This opinion was shared by John Blow (1649-1708) who thought that 'lewd' '*Doubl'Entendre'* ridden English balladry had for too long been 'oppres(ing)' good sense and harmony. See the introduction to, Blow, *Amphion Anglicus* (London: William Pearson, 1700).

[4] See the 'dedication' to Sam Strode in, Thomas Chilcot, *Twelve English Songs: The Words by Shakespeare and other Celebrated Poets* (London: J. Johnson, 1744).

In many cases the scores found within these publications would have been too technically demanding for performance outside of skilled amateur or 'professional' ensembles. They were arranged, variously, for harpsichord, violins, cellos, and of course voice(s), which suggests that they were aimed squarely at the growing number of musical societies across England, and at the drawing rooms of London and fashionable urban centres, such as Bath.[5] Composers including James Corfe (dates unknown), Thomas Chilcot (1700-1766), and James Worgan (1713-1753), were all involved in publishing material that, whether by refinement of lyric, nature of subject matter, range of instruments, or quality of musical execution, sought to configure a more polished, less rude branch of English song culture.[6] Even in less technically demanding publications, such as the various collections by the prolific publisher and song writer Henry Carey (c.1687-1743), songs 'composed many years ago', were gathered together and 'revised' for the harpsichord and voice.[7]

Besides suggesting that 'politeness' might be a viable route for interpreting yet another area of eighteenth-century (aural and musical) culture, the appearance of these song collections is significant because it points towards a shift in English tastes.[8] Previously, writers embedded in a culture that privileged poetry above music tended to label English 'common' songs as lowly in 'artistic' status and unworthy of discussion in polite or learned circles (witness the ridicule of Joseph Addison for his essays on the song *Chevy Chase*). However, from the late 1730s onwards, the appearance, and subsequent growth in numbers, of these publications indicates that Londoners were increasingly interested in hearing, discussing and defining the qualities of their native 'English' song culture.[9]

This chapter traces the growth in the popularity of English songs and teases out some of the factors that helped to shape these realignments in taste and attitude. More specifically, this

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[5] Musical societies subscribed heavily to almost all of the 'English' song publications by these composers. For example, the Oxford, Gloucester and the Tewksbury musical societies all subscribed to Chilcot's *Twelve English Songs*.

[6] James Corfe published several songs as single sheets before collecting them into the publications *Twelve English Songs* (London: c.1745) and its companion *Six English Songs* (London: c.1745); Thomas Chilcot issued several of the songs from his *Twelve English Songs* as single song sheets in c.1750. See, 'On a Day, alack the Day' and 'Come now Monarch of ye Vine' (London: c.1750); James Worgan published *Three New English Cantatas* (London: J. Walsh and J. Simpson, 1744), which he followed up with *An English Cantata and Three English Songs* (London: 1745).

[7] Henry Carey published an extensive four-volume collection of songs, the *Harmonia Anglicana or English Harmony Revised* (London: I. Walsh, c.1745-c.1760), which contained songs by English composers from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Carey was also responsible for *The Musical Century in 100 English Ballads (Cantatas and Songs),* which went through three increasingly large editions between 1737 and 1744.

[8] Lawrence Klein has already noted how 'politeness' has been used to interpret, among many other things, aspects of 'material and visual cultures'. See his 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 45, No. 4, (December, 2002), 869-898, esp. p.870.

[9] This coincided, in timing at least, with a second important development, namely, that beyond 1737 the popularity of Scottish musical entertainments in London went into a steady decline. Figures from the *Index to the London Stage* reveal that after 1737 the number of 'Scottish' entertainments performed annually in London dwindled. So whilst, as discussed previously, c.441 Scottish entertainments are known to have been performed between 1718 and 1736, only 195 are recorded between 1737 and 1800. *London Stage,* (1961), iii.

chapter is concerned with English identity and my primary focus is upon the ways in which Englishness was imagined both within mid-eighteenth-century songs and in discussions about English song culture. I argue that groups of concerned commentators sought to legitimise and stabilise a particular conceptualisation of Englishness by aligning it with various currents of contemporary thought on topics as seemingly diverse as music (both contemporary and ancient), the relationship between physiology and food, and the role of men within society. This chapter therefore deals with gender and 'the body', and whilst there are many ways we might approach the body, my particular concern is with diet, and the links imagined between diet and the English character. For, as we shall see, the English character was of particular significance to contemporaries due to the pressing issue of defending the nation and maintaining the growing empire.

The 'types' of Englishness different writers sought to privilege were of course varied, and this chapter is not about *one* type of Englishness, but instead about models of Englishness imagined through the debates surrounding song culture and within the songs themselves. Englishness lacked a definitive form and the level of anxiety that surrounded Englishness can only indicate that its position was uncertain and its boundaries ill defined. Indeed the instability of 'Englishness' is evident across the period, and is brought sharply into relief when we consider the range of fears and occasional hysterias that surrounded the import of 'foreign' cultures.[10] This instability stemmed, at least in part, from one aspect intimately bound up with Englishness, namely, 'masculinity'. As Michael Roper and John Tosh have asserted, 'masculinity is never fully possessed, but must perpetually be achieved, asserted and renegotiated.'[11] Although I am not focusing upon one type or model of Englishness, in this chapter I do wish to put 'masculinity', as it related to English nationhood, under the microscope.[12] 'Cultural effort' was required to try and present a normative model of masculinity

[10] Concerns about the influences of foreign cultures and luxuries pervaded eighteenth-century society. On concerns over indolence and decline linked to consumption of 'foreign' goods, see, John Brewer, ''The Most Polite Age and the Most Vicious': Attitudes Towards Culture as a Commodity', in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (ed.) by Ann Bermingham and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1997), pp.341-361; Liz Bellamy, *Commerce, Morality and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1998), pp.15-16; Also, E. J. Clery, *The Feminization Debate in Eighteenth-Century England: Literature, Commerce and Luxury* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Just a few examples, largely musical, include: the import of Italian singers, especially the castrati, on which subject see, Todd S. Gilman, 'The Italian (Castrato) in London', in *The Work of Opera: Genre, Nationhood and Sexual Difference,* (ed.) by Richard Dellamora and Daniel Fischlin, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp.49-69; On the opposition to the Italian opera in London. See, Thomas McGeary, 'Opera and British Nationalism, 1700-1711' *Revue,* Vol. 4, No. 2 (2006), 5-19.

[11] M. Roper and J. Tosh, 'Introduction', in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (ed.) by Michael Roper and John Tosh (Basingstoke and New York: Routledge, 1991), p.18.

[12] According to the *OED* the term 'masculinity' first appeared in print in 1748. Its appearance indicates a sense amongst contemporaries that words such as 'manly' did not fully conceptualise the mid-eighteenth-century male experience. On language, and its development and evolution as part of the process of historical and social change see, Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London; Fontana Press, 1988; orig. 1976), p.22.

that could present itself as 'truth.'[13] But in searching for a stable model contemporaries were faced with a pressing dilemma. On the one hand they lived within a system in which education and social conventions urged men to curb their ferocity and subdue their passions, and yet, the geopolitical realities of the age saw Britain plunged headlong into almost a quarter of a century of continual warfare, during which, ferocity and passion were frequently glorified.[14]

Domestically, the tensions surrounding what was, and what was not, acceptable masculine conduct can be seen in public debates surrounding cultural practices such as duelling, the custom of which became gradually less acceptable in England during the first half of the century due to an increased intolerance towards violence, shifts in attitudes towards aristocrats, and the rise of new 'polite' norms governing masculine conduct.[15] However, faced by a succession of conflicts in which the invasion and conquest of England was a pressing reality, violence in the national cause needed to be continually legitimised. Many commentators warned that if Englishmen failed to aspire to their manly duties then the nation's growing prosperity would falter and the Englishman's liberties would be lost to the despotism of continental monarchy.[16]

Managing this dislocation between 'civilised' rational behaviour and violence was of the utmost concern. One way of tackling the issue was through concepts, such as bravery, and associated concepts, such as honour. Honour was presented as something of particular concern for those higher up the social scale. It was a complex code, a *public* mark of respect, built upon reputation and signifying qualities such as dignity and virtue. In a military context at least, failure to live up to the expectations of lineage, or to perform one's duty might strip an individual of this particular social distinction. Indeed, as one recent study has shown, Georgian

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[13] The term 'cultural effort' is borrowed from Ludmilla Jordanova, *Nature Displayed: Gender, Science and Medicine* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), p.1.

[14] On the pressures to curb public violence see, Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), esp. pp.323-5, 330; Robert Shoemaker, 'Reforming Male Manners: Public Insult and the Decline of Violence in London, 1660-1740' in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800,* (ed.) by Michele Cohen and Tim Hitchcock, (Harlow: Longman, 1999), pp.137-38; Also, Philip Carter, who has demonstrated the shifts in masculinity across to century due to pressures for men to obsessively practice notions of compassion and refinement. Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society in Britain, 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2000).

[15] D. T. Andrew, 'The Code of Honour and its Critics: the Opposition to Duelling in England, 1700-1850', *Social History,* Vol. 5, No. 3, (1980), 409- 434, pp.416-20; Robert Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour and Ritual Violence in London, 1660-1800', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 45 No. 3 (Sept. 2002), 525-545.

[16] Countless contemporary warnings existed. See, for example, William Bewick's warning about foreign luxuries and the eschewing of 'manly' foods in his poem 'The Spanish war', *Several Letters and Miscellany Poems,* 2nd edition (Newcastle: 1742), p.27; Many histories of the time drew parallels between England and Rome, and warned of Rome's decline which they often attributed to the crumbling of 'manly' virtues. See for example Henry Bolingbroke, *Remarks on the History of England,* 2nd edition (London: 1747), p.51; These concerns lay at the heart of 'country' opposition to court politics in this period. On the wide and popular appeal of 'country' culture across Britain during this period see, Bob Harris, *Politics and the Nation: Britain in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: O.U.P. 2002); On the links between 'patriotism', and 'manly' virtues, see, Wilson, *The Sense of the People,* pp.137-205, esp. pp.187, 191-95, 202-3; Also, Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), esp. pp.56-79.

men deemed dishonourable could quickly be deprived of their manly characteristics and caricatured as soft and effeminate, by people talking and writing about them.[17]

Masculinity, indeed gender more generally, operated in the eighteenth century alongside 'rank', and various aspects of masculine codes of conduct reflected these divides. [18] Of pressing concern for many contemporaries was therefore the question of how Englishness might safely cross-cut with social rank without warping or blurring the established boundaries. Models of Englishness were in many ways designed to be socially exclusive and the masculine codes of conduct associated with them could, therefore, be equally exclusive. More often than not, songs were used to police the boundaries by reinforcing ideas about manners and codes of conduct that helped separate and regulate the social orders.

Although there was less risk of public disgrace, England's middling sorts were also bound to abide by codes of honour. The question of who, beyond the 'wooden walls' of the navy, was to defend the island nation from invasion was of serious concern, particularly during the early 1740s and the mid to late 1750s, when the possibility of a French (or Franco-Jacobite) landing in Britain was an almost perennial source of anxiety.[19] However, the prospect of a standing army on British soil filled many contemporaries with a sense of dread. The Civil War years provided all the evidence that many pamphleteers needed to show that a permanent force could be used to impose the will of a tyrant. Hence, many Englishmen (particularly 'Patriots' suspicious of court policy), championed militias, that is a military force comprised of citizens and raised only in times of emergency, as the preferred means of defending the nation.[20]

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[17] Robert McGregor, 'The Popular Press and the Creation of Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain' in *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (ed.) by Paul Higate (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger Publishing, 2003), esp. pp.147-151.

[18] Studies of Englishness and masculinity in the eighteenth century have consistently separated out manliness according to social rank. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have made it clear that 'gender and class always operate together', see *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850,* rev. edition (London: Routledge, 2002; orig. London: Hutchinson, 1987); Anthony Fletcher has argued that certain male codes of behaviour were tied to specific social ranks during the first half of the eighteenth century. He points, for example, towards a desire amongst middling sorts to distance themselves from typically elite practices concerned with male honour, most notably duelling. Fletcher, *Sex, Gender and Subordination,* pp.324-25; Michele Cohen has charted a shift in the education of *gentlemen* across the second half of the eighteenth century away from the influences of French practices (predominantly the study of French as a *lingua franca*) and towards a more critical, rational study (grammatical) of a monosyllabic (less emotive) language, namely English. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinities: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London and N.Y: Routledge, 1996); Also by Cohen, 'Manliness, effeminacy and the French: gender and the construction of national character in eighteenth-century England', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800,* (ed.) by Michelle Cohen and Tim Hitchcock, (London and N.Y: Longman, 1999).

[19] In a letter to his wife, Lord Orrery recounted some of the panic and confusion gripping London early in 1744. The 'French Fleet', he wrote, 'is said to be near our shores...and [with] Arms and Ammunitions for several thousands, who increase so fast they will To-morrow become millions [of men]', 'Lord Orrery to Lady Orrery', Feb. 4, 1744. He mentions more 'reports of yet another invasion' in January 1745, 'Lord Orrery to Lady Orrery, Jan. 15, 1744 in *The Orrery Papers* (ed.) by The Countess of Cork and Orrery, 2 vols. (London: 1903), ii, pp.181-82, 198.

[20] The extent of this suspicion and the intensity of feelings against the presence of standing armies on British soil (particularly foreign mercenary armies) has recently been highlighted by Matthew McCormack. See his, 'Citizenship, Nationhood, and Masculinity in the Affair of the Hanoverian Soldier, 1756', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 49, No. 4, (2006), 971-993, esp. pp.997-98; An example in song, set

That the issue of how best to defend the island was intimately bound up with issues of masculinity can be seen in the debates that took place regarding the issue of a standing army. Many pro-militia campaigners were keen to stress that a temporary citizen army not only negated the risk of tyranny, it helped to ensure that aspects of masculinity, particularly courage, remained strong amongst the general population. As one MP, haranguing the House of Commons, put it, better to rely on the 'natural bravery of our [English] men in general' than to risk the spirit of 'effeminacy and cowardice' that would follow the creation of a permanent army.[21]

Ultimately, the pro-militia campaign triumphed, and to that end a Militia Act was introduced in 1757. However, the instigation of enforced military service brought the issue of English middling bravery and honour to the forefront of public consciousness, and, alarmingly, it quickly became apparent that many Englishmen were somewhat reluctant to take up arms.[22] In response to this concern numerous 'militia songs' were composed that were designed to shame England's men of middling rank into action. Most of these songs placed little emphasis upon concerns for family name, and instead applied pressure via established models of virtue and appeals to normative paradigms governing relationships between the genders. Hence, many militia songs reminded men that it was their duty to protect England's women. Indeed, one of the most popular songs to emerge from this period, *Rule Britannia,* ended with a plea for 'manly hearts to protect the fair.' Elsewhere, many duets were written that featured a male character, either a soldier or sailor, who was caught between a sense of duty to enlist and the comforts of home. The female part was usually cast as a patriotic, frequently pregnant, wife, who solemnly accepts their husband's departure or cajoles their reluctant husband to fight.[23] Failure to do so risked not only the charge of cowardice, but, crucially, imperilled conceptions of female honour that were intimately bound up with sexual virtue and chastity. Hence Britannia was, on occasion, mobilised as a personification of female virtue, designed to remind men of the consequences of failed courage. Presented in one song as a 'fair incautious maid', she watched as her armies were defeated and her Englishmen ran, and 'Griev'd' that she was now to be 'ravished' by France and Spain.[24]

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to the tune of the much loved *Packington Pound*, can be found in a ballad published c.1752, in which the 'bribing and fighting' of war on dry land are mocked and a 'deep blue' policy of arming a militia and 'manning the fleet' are given preference. The piece was doubtless commissioned or published by 'country' supporters, and is an example of the common practice of mobilising well known tunes for political purposes. See, *A New Ballad on Subsidy Treaties* (London: 1752).

[21] *A Collection of Parliamentary Debates in England,* 21 vols. (London: 1739-42), xv, p.21-22; Fears about common Englishmen being denied the right to use arms, and concerns that this would lead to a growth in effeminacy amongst men, are highlighted by Matthew McCormack in 'Citizenship, Nationhood, and Masculinity', pp.986-89.

[22] The Militia Act caused a great deal of popular unrest. Conway, *War, State and Society,* p.132.

[23] For example, at Drury Lane was sung 'Song CCCLXIII', published in *The Musical Miscellany, Favourite English Songs* (London: 1763); See also, 'The Soldier's Farewell', in H. Howard's, *Fun a lá Mode* (London: 1763).

[24] In 1759-60, the Seven Years War against France was not going well for the English and it was within this context that the song quoted appeared in *The Musical Miscellany* (London: 1760); For songs

Because models of masculinity, and therefore to an extent Englishness, were carefully built around established social divides, conceptions of Englishmen lower down the social hierarchy tended to emphasise different aspects of acceptable behaviour. Lineage and virtue were clearly seen by contemporaries as being of less concern for Britain's common soldiers and sailors, who were instead typically associated with bravery and other traits, such as honesty. One model of English masculinity that gained considerable prominence around the middle of the century was that of the dutiful, brave and honest 'jack tar', or sailor. Such 'common' but admirable men, provided a contrast against which privileged men who shunned their duty could be shamed.[25]

There is, however, evidence to suggest that London's middling sorts were keen to channel positive aspects of lower order Englishness beyond the limitations potentially imposed by other social divides. So, despite the undeniably low social status of England's average sailor, London's audience never tired of hearing songs in the theatres and pleasure gardens that flattered their listeners as 'sons of the waves'.[26] Hence, in the immensely popular song *Jolly Tars*, sung to the tune of the 'Roast Beef of Old England', and possibly given its new lyrics by Henry Carey, the singer flits in and out of the first person, casting the vocalist and audience in the role of fearless English sailors.[27]

Shortly after the Militia Act was passed, other songs linked their listeners to an idealised and rather rustic Englishman. *The Militia Man* was a song that appeared in various collections in the early 1760s. In a reversal of a well-known biblical adage, it encouraged its listeners to 'Turn [their] ploughshares to swords', and 'lest our Liberties fall, become militia men all'.[28] It is doubtful that most listeners at Sadler's Wells (one site where we know the song was performed) would have personally owned or operated ploughshares, so instead the song is better read as appealing to an idealised vision of English yeomanry, attempting to establish virtues in common between an idealised and brave working man and London's more wealthy elites.

Such constructs of English masculinity walked a fine line between suggesting a uniformity of character amongst Englishmen and preserving the roles and codes of conduct that

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celebrating victories see, for example, the 'Loyal Song' celebrating various triumphs in 1761-2, in Thomas Mozeen's *A Collection of Miscellaneous Essays* (London: 1762), p.229.

[25] On the importance of 'class' frameworks, as he puts it, to understanding masculinity within the military see, Robert McGregor, 'The Popular Press and the Creation of Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain' in *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (ed.) by Paul Higate (London: Praeger Publishing, 2003), pp.143-56.

[26] For examples see, 'A Loyal Song' published in Mozeen's *Miscellaneous Essays,* p.139; The highly popular song by William Boyce, 'Hearts of Oak*'* in *England's Glory* (London: 1762), p.40; On 'Jack tars' as masculine exemplars able to transcend 'class barriers' see, Robert McGregor, 'The Popular Press and the Creation of Military Masculinities', p.146.

[27] The song appeared in numerous publications. For example, *The Bacchanalian: Or, Choice Spirits Feast* (London: c.1755), pp.52-3.

[28] On public health and the development of medical knowledge within the military see, Peter Mathias, 'Swords and Ploughshares: The Armed Forces, Medicine, and Public Health in the Late Eighteenth Century' in *War and Economic Development*, (ed.) by J. M. Winter (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1975), pp. 73-90.

defined social boundaries. So, in the 'Militia Man' an escape hatch was provided for the listeners by mentioning the variety of other means by which a gentleman might contribute to the defence of the realm. Londoners were reassured that if they could not pick up a sword, they could still contribute in other ways, by lending their industry and their money - or their 'hearts, hands and purses', as the song put it.[29] For whilst audiences might enjoy the fantasy of being a common sailor, such songs never breeched established social conventions, and hence Carey's 'Jolly tars' were dutifully obedient to their 'wise' and 'glorious commanders', and, in order to further preserve social proprieties, their fictionalised language is never crude or impolite.[30]

Because of these pressures, stability was sought around a variety of cultural forms that could be contrasted favourably with conceptions of 'old' English masculinity, but without transgressing 'new' male codes of practice. In this chapter it is argued that 'the roast beef of old England' became one of the most prominent avatars around which a model of Englishness was constructed that was able to associate itself with 'old' English masculinity and transcend social boundaries. The various cultural manifestations of the 'roast beef', and its links to diet and English character are tracked and explored below in some detail.

'When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food':

Dorothy George once commented that the 'Roast beef of old England' was a peculiarly eighteenth-century phenomenon.[31] I wish to refine her timeframe somewhat, and suggest that it was during the decades immediately surrounding the mid-eighteenth century that the 'Roast Beef of Old England' (and whilst all four words have significance, I will use the term 'roast beef' hereafter, for the sake of brevity) reached new and extraordinary levels of popularity.[32] As will become apparent, by the 'roast beef', I am referring to much more than a culinary dish. Throughout most of this chapter I use the term to mean a cultural phenomenon which, mediated through the 'art' of writers, painters and, particularly, musicians, helped to inform and shape contemporary perceptions of English and masculine identities. In addition, the phenomenon of 'roast beef' was not static and over time its meaning shifted in response to particular events. So, when Henry Fielding (1707-1754) composed the words for a two-verse song in 1731, he used the roast beef as an allegorical device to construct an idealised Englishman whom he could then

[29] Mozeen, *Miscellaneous Essays*, pp.27-28; Essentially, the Militia Act contained a 'get-out' clause, that allowed the rich to buy their way out of service. Conway, *War, State and Society,* p.132.
[30] The earliest example of the *Jolly Tars* I have been able to find is in *The Press-Gang,* by Henry Carey, which first appeared at Covent Garden on the 2, April, 1755. That same year the song was reprinted in the second edition of *The Bacchanalian* (London: 1755), pp.52-53; The song's popularity must also have provided some of the inspiration for Tobias Smollett to subtitle his 1757 comedy, *The Reprisal,* as *The Tars of Old England.* (London: 1757).
[31] Dorothy M. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966; orig., 1930), p.173.
[32] To be clear, I am not suggesting that reference to a liberty-loving, beef eating Englishman cannot be found in accounts predating the start of this chapter, or that beyond 1763 the English love affair with roast beef simply withered away. Instead I am proposing that it was during the period covered by this chapter that the cultural potency of the 'roast beef' was at its zenith.

use to call attention to the failure (as he saw it) of contemporaries to live up to past standards of 'manly' behaviour. By contrast, when William Hogarth (1697-1764) created his painting *The Gates of Calais* (1748*,* engravings appeared after 1749) he sought to portray a more positive representation of contemporary English prosperity. By tracking the use of 'roast beef' between different cultural media, we can therefore chart shifts in the representations of Englishness.

However, before considering the evolution of 'roast beef' as a phenomenon, it is worth mentioning some of the ideas that were linked to beef and beef eating in English society.[33] In the eighteenth century, food and drink had meanings that related to, but transcended, their value as physical sustenance. For example, between, broadly, the 1720s and the 1750s, gin took on a range of political and patriotic significances. The social problems caused by gin made the drink into a political issue. Meanwhile, in the press and elsewhere, commentators lambasted it as a 'foreign', Dutch substance, which, as Hogarth pointed out, was apparently less suited to the English constitution than beer.[34] Beef, like beer, was invested with masculine qualities and was thought well matched with the English constitution. Hence, comments to the effect that, 'A pound of roast beef...which is common...for a hearty man here [in England], might endanger the life of an East-Indian', were not uncommon.[35]

These links become clearer if we consider contemporary attitudes towards beef as a medicinal restorative. Whilst medical understanding of the body was far from uncontested in the eighteenth century, the majority of people, regardless of social rank, adhered to a Galenic (after the physician, Galen of Pergamon, CE.129-c.199) or humoral model of the body. An appropriate balance of humors, of blood, phlegm and yellow and black bile, were believed fundamental to an individual's health and development and were also thought to influence a person's character.[36] Medical treatments were therefore geared, to an extent, towards identifying and then rectifying any imbalances in the levels or the flow of these fluids around the body. Differences between the sexes were explained, predominantly, through the different balances of

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[33] Food has for centuries been a critical site where claims and counter-claims about masculinity have been made. See, Christopher Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp.92-113.

[34] Hogarth invited comparisons between the effects of English beer and 'Dutch' gin in his paintings *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street* (both 1751). On the patriotic and moral messages of the two paintings see, Mark Hallett, *Hogarth* (London: Phaidon, 2000), pp.222-226; Beer and beef were also linked in songs of the time. See, for example, 'The Brown Beer of Old England', set to Leveridge's tune of the Roast Beef of Old England, in *The Vocal Miscellany,* 2 vols. (London: 1738), ii, p.246-48; On the Gin craze and the political responses to the problem, see *The Streets of London: From the Great Fire to the Great Stink* (ed.) by Tim Hitchcock and Heather Shore (London: River Oram Press, 2003), p.159*;* Also, Jessica Warner, *Craze: Gin and Debauchery in the Age of Reason* (London: Random House, 2002), pp.43-144.

[35] 'Essay' in the *London Magazine,* April, 1737, p.184; Recently it has been demonstrated that writers of the Scottish enlightenment tended to gender India as female. The comment in the *London Magazine* would suggest that the English took a similar view, and perhaps earlier. See, J. G. S. Chen, 'Gendering India: Effeminacy and the Scottish Enlightenment Debates over Virtue and Luxury', *The Eighteenth Century,* Vol. 51, No. 1-2, (Spring/Summer, 2010), 193-210.

[36] On music as a fifteenth and sixteenth-century treatment for high levels of black bile, see, Kirsten Gibson, 'Music, Melancholia and Masculinity in Early Modern England', in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice* (ed.) by Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp.41-66.

humors found within males and females.[37] Men were characterised as having greater levels of 'hot' and 'dry' humors, which resulted in strong bodies and rational minds. By contrast, women were characterised as being 'wet' and 'cold', which accounted for their generally lower levels of physical strength and a supposed predisposition towards irrationality.

The reasoning behind food as a treatment to correct imbalances or in some way act as a restorative is best explored through an example. The ability of certain foods to increase strength and promote general well-being meant that, often, cook-books would provide readers with advice on the best recipes for restoring the sick. Eliza Smith's phenomenally successful *Complete Housewife,* for example, devoted eighty pages to 'Medicines', 'Salves' and broths that were designed to cure a range of ailments, from mild complaints, such as the hiccups, to potentially life-threatening conditions such as the 'bloody flux' (dysentery).[38] It would, however, be a mistake to assume that contemporaries would have dismissed the health advice contained within such publications as quackery. Indeed, Smith's remedies shared commonalities with advice found in scholarly, medical tomes. For example, the physician Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738) often prescribed dietary solutions for his patient's ills.[39] So, whilst Smith recommends, a broth of 'Beef for very weak people', we find in Boerhaave's *Medical Correspondence,* a similar recommendation that women affected with 'weakness after childbirth', be restored by 'dry' [masculine] foods, ideally a 'diet of roast beef and biscuits'.[40]

The links between beef and good health were played out within discourse through analogy. In the case of beef, links were forged between the properties, namely the size and strength, of cattle and their flesh as food, which was seen, somehow, to embody these same properties. Hence, in everyday discourse, the word 'beef' was typically used alongside the adjective 'mighty'.[41] And the strengths it contained could be imparted to the sick to aid in their

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[37] The shift in medical understanding from a Galenic 'one body' system, where male and female exist on a spectrum and are a matter of degree, towards a binary, 'two' body system (of separate types of sex), might broadly be said to have taken place across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The theory first charted by Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990); For a survey of works on the body, and for several responses to Laqueur see, Laren Harvey, 'The Century of Sex? Gender, Bodies and Sexuality in the Long Eighteenth century', *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 45, Issue 4 (2002), 899-916.

[38] Eliza Smith, *The Complete Housewife: Or, Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion,* 18th edition (London: 1773; orig. 1727), pp.352-415.

[39] On the reputation and significance of Boerhaave see, Andrew Cunningham, 'Medicine to Calm the Mind: Boerhaave's Medical System, and why it was Adopted in Edinburgh', in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (ed.) by Andrew Cunningham and Roger French (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1990), pp.40-66.

[40] Smith, *The Complete Housewife,* pp.367-8; Herman Boerhaave, *Boerhaave's Medical Correspondence* (London: 1745), p.46; On the common readers' ability to find out about remedies in general interest publications, and on the large number of books and pamphlets that touched upon advice (including the regulation of diet), see Roy Porter, 'Lay Medical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the *Gentleman's Magazine', Medical History,* Vol. 29, No. 2, (1985), 138-168, esp. pp.138-9.

[41] For example, John Gay offered his readers directions to the best places they might seek out 'mighty beef' for their meal. See his, *Trivia: Or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London* (London: Bernard Lintot, 1716), p.48.

recovery, which perhaps, as John Gay once joked, might be a more pleasurable option than trusting to a physician's 'nauseous pills'.[42]

But beef was not just for the unwell. As a 'dry' food, associated in various ways with strength, beef eating was considered a predominantly male activity. Hence, it was only recorded as being consumed by women in times of sickness, when, presumably, women needed to 'take in' the strength that they 'naturally' lacked. In addition, the eating of roast beef as a public activity took place in exclusively male environments. Numerous clubs and societies dedicated to the eating of beef appeared in Augustan London, the most famous of which, the Sublime Society of Beef Steaks, was founded in 1735.[43] Membership of this particular club was by nomination and election only. Founding members included the painter William Hogarth and the playwright John Rich (1692-1761), and across the century other influential figures, such as John Beard (the singer), Dr. Anthony Askew, David Garrick, Samuel Johnson, John Wilkes and, in 1785, the Prince of Wales, also became members.[44]

The men met every Saturday, dressed in an elaborate uniform (a blue coat and buff waistcoat with inscribed, brass buttons), to eat beef, raise toasts and drink. Owing to the restricted number of members (no more than twenty-four) and the costs involved (which included a weekly subscription fee and the money needed to buy one's 'uniform'), the society was certainly exclusive. Yet, it is worth noting that all the individuals mentioned in this chapter who mediated the 'roast beef' through their 'art', including Henry Fielding, Richard Leveridge, and (Sublime Society members such as) William Hogarth, were drawn from London's 'middling' ranks. The conception of roast beef that they envisaged was designed to promote an English masculinity built around qualities of bravery and strength, which, unlike 'honour', or honesty and deference, were less heavily bound up with 'levels' of the social hierarchy. One way in which they achieved this was to link Englishness to 'old' Elizabethan England, which, as we shall see, associated the roast beef with notions of a broad based, patriotic, civic duty.

Let us start with the 'roast beef' in its first significant, and most common cultural form, that of a song. Henry Fielding wrote the original verses for his play *The Grub Street Opera* (1731), but, prevented from bringing the play to the stage by the Walpole administration, he recycled the verses, and set them to the tune of the *King's Old Courtier*, for his 1734 play *Don Quixote in England.*[45] The words ran as follows,

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[42] Gay, *Trivia,* p.73.
[43] Robert Allen, *The Clubs of Augustan London* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1933), pp.137-45.
[44] A list of founding members can be found in Arnold Walter, *The Life and Death of the Sublime Society of Beef Steaks* (London: Bradbury, Evans and Co. 1871); The importance of John Rich to London's cultural life in the first half of the eighteenth century has been woefully underestimated. This oversight is, however, shortly to be rectified by a forthcoming publication, *'The Stage's Glory': John Rich (1692-1761)* (ed.) by Jeremy Barlow and Berta Joncus, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011).
[45] On the prominence of *Don Quixote* in eighteenth-century British society see, Craig Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), pp.126-56.

I When Mighty Roast beef was the Englishman's food,
It ennobled our hearts, and enriched our blood,
Our soldiers were brave, and our courtiers were good,
Oh, the roast beef of England,
And Old England's Roast beef!

II But since we have learnt from all conquering France,
To eat their ragouts as well as to dance,
Oh what a fine figure we make in romance!
Oh, the roast beef, &c.[46]

Fielding is clearly drawing upon the links between beef and vitality and the notion that the roast beef was particularly suited to the Englishman's constitution. Although Fielding does not specify the age of his 'old' England, contemporaries would have been able to draw upon stories and anecdotes to infer links between beef eating and the Elizabethan era. For example, Joseph Addison recorded at least one story circulating in the early eighteenth century that Queen Elizabeth regularly ate roast beef for breakfast to keep up her strength.[47] As a monarch, Elizabeth needed to be endowed with supposedly male qualities, such as bravery and decisiveness, and her character, particularly her 'heart and stomach' of a man, were the source of considerable interest to eighteenth-century writers.[48] Indeed, the Elizabethan era in general, was attractive to eighteenth-century Englishmen because parallels could be drawn between one period of perceived naval triumph and the present, where commerce and prosperity were becoming increasingly reliant upon the strength of the British fleet.

Realising the potential of the 'roast beef' as a means to comment upon English manliness, the singer-songwriter Richard Leveridge (1670-1758) gave Fielding's verses a new melody and added five additional stanzas. He choose a benefit concert in his honour (in 1735) for the first performance and the song proved an immediate and enduring success, being performed at least fifteen times across the 1735-36 season, and making an almost immediate appearance in print.[49] The song went on to be reproduced, adapted, performed and referenced

[46] Henry Fielding, *Don Quixote in England* (Dublin: Geo Faulkner, 1734). Throughout the play Fielding makes numerous mentions of roast beef being suited to the English constitution. For example, p.14.
[47] The author was possibly Richard Steele, the story appearing in *The Tatler,* March 21, 1709, No.148; By the 1740s after the song had gained immense popularity the success and vitality of all manner of English monarchs were attributed to their roast beef diets. See, for example, *The Musical Companion; Or, Lady's Magazine* (London: 1741), pp.69-70; Also, *The Muses Banquet* (London: 1752), p.47.
[48] For a good example of a lengthy speculation about Elizabeth's 'manly' character see, John Adams, *The Flowers of Modern History* (London: 1788), pp.163-171.
[49] It appeared that year in *A Complete Collection of Old and New English and Scotch Songs* 2 vols. (London: 1735), ii, p.5-6; The song was a favourite at the theatres, often being sung by cast and audience, during the interlude or at the end of performances. David Garrick was amongst those who recorded Leveridge's 'Roast Beef' being 'roared' by theatregoers. See *The Male Coquette* (London: 1758); the song was also popular amongst club members, being sung after dinner. See the presumably fictitious, but suggestive account in, *The Entertaining Correspondent,* 2 vols. (London: 1739), i, pp.493-519.

countless times across the thirties, forties and fifties, eventually becoming one of the most popular and enduring songs of the century.[50] Leveridge's verses, the template for all that followed, ran,

I
When Mighty Roast beef was the Englishman's food,
It ennobled our Veins, and enriched our Blood;
Our soldiers were brave and our courtiers were good,
O' the roast beef of Old England!
And Old England's Roast beef!

II
But since we have learnt from all-vapouring France
To eat their Ragouts, as well as to dance,
We're fed up with nothing - but vain Complaisance:
O' the Roast Beef, &c.

III
Our Fathers of old were robust, stout and strong,
And kept open House with good Cheer all Day long,
Which made their plump Tenants rejoice with this song:
O' the Roast Beef, &c.

IV
But now we are dwindled - to what shall I name?
A sneaking poor Race, half-begotten, - and tame,
Who sully those Honours that once shone in Fame:
O' the Roast Beef, &c.

V
When good Queen Elizabeth sat on the throne,
Ere coffee, or tea, or such slip-slops were known,
The world was in terror if e'er she did frown.
O' the Roast Beef, &c.

VI
In those days, if fleets did presume on the Main,
They seldom or never return'd back again;
As witness, the vaunting Armada of Spain:
O' the Roast Beef, &c.

[50] Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, '250 Years of Roast Beef', *The Musical Times,* Vol. 126, No. 1706 (April: 1985), 203-207.

VII Oh! Then we had stomachs to eat and to fight,
And, when Wrongs were a cooking, to do themselves right;
But now we're a - I could - but good Night:
O' the Roast Beef, &c.[51]

Leveridge makes only two alterations to Fielding's original verses. In the first verse he replaced the word 'hearts' with 'veins', and in the second verse he changed 'in romance' to 'vain complaisance' to criticise some Englishmen's willingness to follow continental fashions. Fielding uses the word 'romance' to imply that positive English characteristics were found only in the past, but Leveridge has no need for the word because he establishes the distinction between past and present at length in his additional verses.

This relationship between 'old' and contemporary England, is particularly significant, for it aligned the 'roast beef' with two powerful, interconnected cultural trends of the 1730-40s. The first of these two trends was 'patriotism'.[52] We can see from their verses that both Fielding's and Leveridge's idealised sense of Englishness is firmly rooted in the past. They present the audience with the idea that the qualities constituting a positive and distinctly English male persona have been lost, or are at least in decline. Locating these qualities in an Elizabethan 'golden age' suggests Leveridge's 'patriotic' sympathies. In the hands of opponents of the Walpole administration, the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) had already taken on a quasi-mythical role, providing critics with a point of contrast between contemporary incompetence, weakness and corruption, and 'old' English fortitude and civic duty.[53] In 'Old England', went the line, there flourished a selfless devotion to the interest of the state. Men put the well being of all above the petty interests of personal gain, and, both 'court' and 'country', and people of all ranks, paid their taxes with good cheer and worked together for the public good.[54] In short, it was an era in which positive public male characteristics were imagined to be ubiquitous, and it was on account of these qualities that the strength and power of the nation were established and famous military triumphs of the age (notably the defeat of the Spanish Armada) were achieved.

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[51] This version is taken from, *The Vocal Miscellany,* 2 vols. (London: 1738), ii, pp.2-3.

[52] Broadly the term 'patriotism' was used to refer to a variety of political opposition groups, and, as a result, had either derogatory or positive connotations depending on one's political affiliations. However, according to the *OED,* the word took on a more general meaning, denoting a sense of devotion to one's country, around the middle of the eighteenth century. For an in depth exposition on the term from a political perspective, and for an investigation into its relationship with Whig literature, see, Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry and National Myth, 1725-1742* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); Also, Gerald Jordan and Nicholas Rogers, 'Admirals as Heroes: Patriotism and Liberty in Hanoverian England', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3. (1989), 201-224, p.202; For opposition to the government in the theatres see, Emmett Avery and A. H. Scouten, 'The Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, 1737-1739' *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 83, No. 327, (1968), 331-336.

[53] An excellent example of this mythological construction of an Elizabethan 'Golden Age' can be found in, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Tendency of Patriotism* (Dublin: 1747), pp.26-27.

[54] The myth of the golden age remained potent throughout the eighteenth century and reached a high-water mark amongst nineteenth-century historians. See, for example, the extraordinary language used to describe the 'Virgin queen's' relationship with her subjects in John Green's, *A Short History of the English People,* 2nd edition (New York: American Book Company, 1893), p.374.

It was a powerful mythology with particular appeal to members of a nation whose commerce and growing empire were largely reliant upon the success of her fighting men at sea.

Indeed, the myth of the 'golden age' moved beyond naval and military concerns and began to help shape a sense of England's cultural development. Beyond the 1730s, writers began to look to the late sixteenth century for the origins of all that was positive about English culture and taste. So when, in 1783, the author of the *Historical Essay on the Progress and Nature of National Song* looked back across England's musical past, he sought to prove that Elizabeth's reign should be regarded as a watershed, an era to which the 'origin[s] of the modern English song' could be traced. Ballads, glees, catches and madrigals, he claimed, were all inventions of this period. It was, he suggested, during and after Elizabeth's reign that many songs were elevated to a higher cultural plateau and made less rude in their subject matter and language. In particular, he points towards the positive influence of songs in which verses by Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe were set to music; an approach revived, as we have seen, by prominent English song writers of the 1730s.[55]

In addition to its associations with 'patriotism', the roast beef also tapped into a second important trend of this period, namely, the noticeable growth in interest, during the 1730s and 1740s, for English songs. Part of this trend included a 'revival' of interest in 'old' English songs; a term that broadly described songs dating to either the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.[56] Particularly popular were songs dealing with the heroic exploits of sailors and soldiers, and these accounts of past military victories provided a means, like the 'roast beef', to contrast 'old' English fortitude with the inadequacies of the present. For example, the writer John Loveage, recorded how an elderly gentlemen, armed with 'a collection learned from the reign of Queen Anne', filled the long winter's evenings with 'songs on English bravery'. However, when he thought of the '*fear, cowardice...*and *Treachery'* that had 'lately [been] suspected in an English Fleet', and reflected on the 'Honest hearts', and dedication of his father's generation, Loveage could not help but wonder if 'The revival of these [old] songs' might not be of public utility 'in the present'.[57]

Indeed, many 'old' songs enjoyed a new lease of life during this period. Henry Purcell's *Britons Strike Home* (1695) gained considerable popularity after the start of the 1739 war with Spain.[58] Numerous versions appeared of a song originally written to celebrate victory over the

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[55] Joseph Ritson, 'An Historical Essay on the Progress and Nature of National Song' in *A Select Collection of English Songs,* ed. By Joseph Ritson, 3 vols. (London: 1783), i, pp.liv-lvii, lix.
[56] Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), p.151.
[57] 'To Henry Stonecastle, Esq' *Universal Spectator,* June 9, 1744. The italics are preserved from the original document.
[58] The song originated from Purcell's 1695 'historical Romance' *Bonduca,* a Jacobean tragedy based upon Boadicea's revolt against the Roman occupation of Britain. In Purcell's original semi-opera Druid priests perform the song as a call for vengeance against those who dared to invade Britain's sacred soil. The semi-opera itself seems to have been staged only infrequently during the eighteenth century. *The Public Advertiser,* 31 July, 1778, described it as having been 'Acted but once these Hundred and Fifty Years', the 'once' perhaps referring to the production recorded at Drury Lane on June 9, 1731. The song,

Dutch fleet in 1692.[59] Another melody, dating from the seventeenth century and known originally as *Charles of Sweden*, was reworked as *English Courage Display'd* to celebrate the English capture of Portobello from the Spanish in 1739, then reworked again as a song commemorating the royal fireworks that were held in London's Green Park, after the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.[60] Elsewhere, the music of late sixteenth-century composers such as John Bennet (1575-1614), William Byrd (1543-1623), John Farmer (c.1570-1601), Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) and Thomas Morley (1557-1602) featured in the repertoire of music clubs and societies, such as the Academy of Ancient Music (established 1726).[61]

As we have seen, 'old' songs could be used to establish an imaginary model of Englishness against which the present could be compared. But the roast beef, unlike militia songs or songs about 'jolly tars', was not targeted at, or did not name, Englishmen of a particular status. In Leveridge's hands, the roast beef was a leveller that did not discriminate between the social ranks. When roast beef was the Englishman's food, he told his audiences, men were 'robust, stout and strong'. But now 'coffee' and 'tea' and 'such slip-slops' are consumed, men, in which he includes, 'soldiers' and 'courtiers', landlords and 'tenants' (verses I and III), are 'sneaking' and 'tame' (verses III, IV and VII).

However, in 1748, when William Hogarth painted *The Gates of Calais,* he made a subtle, but significant alteration to the meaning of the 'roast beef'. In the time between Leveridge's song (1735) and Hogarth's painting (1748), Britain's circumstances had altered. By 1748, the nation had emerged victorious in both the 1739-c.1742 war with Spain and in the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748).[62] In London, the Hanoverian government, sensing a public eager for peace, and keen to promote the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) as a

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however, enjoyed independent popularity. Edward Phillips used the melody in his 1739 ballad-opera *Britons Strike Home: Or, the Sailor's Rehearsal.* Although initially unsuccessful, it enjoyed a revival in the wake of Admiral Vernon's capture of the Spanish Porto Bello being renamed (amidst the mood of triumphalism) as *Britons Strike Home: Or, the English Sailor's Triumph.* The song itself then enjoyed a new lease of life, being performed at least 18 times on the London stage between 1739 and 1745.

[59] A song mentioned by Mr. Loveage, and originally titled *Thursday in the Morn'* appeared in several ballads during the 1730s under the title of *Russell's Triumph*. BL G.312 (84). The song was still popular by the 1760s, appearing in *The Muses' Banquet* (Dublin: 1760), p.85. *Thursday in the Morn'* was one of the 'old' songs called for, this time under the title of *The Glorious Ninety-Two*, by the character Captain Hardy in Thomas Mozeen's play *The Heiress.* The play was staged 21 May, 1759, but was later published in Mozeen's *Miscellaneous Essay* (London: 1762).

[60] *Political Ballads Illustrating the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole* (ed.) by Milton Percival (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), p.166; *A New Song, on the Sharp and Bloody Battle...between the English...and the French* (London: E. Williams, 1743), BL. fol. 1876.f.1.(128.); Its rewording as a song to commemorate the Royal-fireworks can be found under the name, *A Copy of the Verses Made on the Public Fire-Works, in Honour of Peace,* BL. fol. c.116.i.4 (116).

[61] *The Words of Such Pieces as are Most Usually Performed by the Academy of Ancient Music* (London: 1761). For an account of the Academy, see, John Hawkins, *An Account of the Institution and Progress of the Academy of Ancient Musick* (London: 1770); On the role of the Academy in helping to establish the notion of music canon in England see, William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), pp. 56-73.

[62] In reality the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) settled few disputes, and, crucially, left many of the questions regarding the possession of regions in North America and India unresolved. See Conway, *War, State and Society*, pp.6,162.

boon for Britain, organised an elaborate triumphal display, the Royal-fireworks, to celebrate victory. George II had particular reason to be jubilant, for inserted into the treaty was a French acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the Hanoverian succession and an agreement that Louis XV would no longer harbour the Stuart court on French soil.[63] Coming just two years after the defeat of Charles Edward Stuart's (1720-1788) attempted invasion (1745-46), many Englishmen allowed themselves a glimmer of hope that peace and stability were now to follow.[64]

As a result of this confidence, two themes define Hogarth's painting *The Gates of Calais* (fig. 14). The first, as Mark Hallett, and others, have demonstrated, is an explicit, 'xenophobic critique of French culture'.[65] Hogarth's critique is established by providing a contrast between the English and French cultures, and, related to this is a second theme, namely the light of optimism. In the painting, the gates of Calais are divided diagonally by shadow and light. In the foreground of the painting, France lies shrouded in darkness; a potent representation of Gallic slavery under a despotic monarch and the shadow of ignorance cast by Catholic magic and mystery.[66] The light of reason, an enduring and powerful metaphor of the 'enlightenment', and the progress and prosperity that reason promised, shines only on the English coat of arms (in the upper left side of the gate) and highlights the clothes of the chef and the flesh of the enormous side of beef destined for the English tavern.

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[63] Some of the tensions this created in Paris can be seen in Thomas E. Kaiser, 'The Drama of Charles Edward Stuart, Jacobite Propaganda, and French Political Protest, 1745-1750', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* Vol. 30, No. 4 (Summer, 1997), 365-381.

[64] The mood of optimism can be sensed in Horace Walpole's letter to Sir Horace Mann, April 20, 1748 in *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford* (ed.) by Richard Bentley, 6 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1840), ii, p. 216-18.

[65] Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830,* rev. edn. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997)*,* pp.60-68; also, Hallett, *Hogarth*, p.239.

[66] Ronald Paulson has noted the presence of a Catholic Mass taking place in the far background through the portcullis gate. Paulson has also suggested that the fishwives, seen in the foreground to the bottom left of the painting, are superstitiously studying the face of a ray looking for (religious) signs and meanings. See, Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Harlot* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 448.

Figure 14: *The Gates of Calais,* by William Hogarth, 1748. Oil on canvas, 78.8 x 94.5 cm. Courtesy of the Tate Britain, London. Given the continued popularity of Leveridge's song, it was not long before the painting was rechristened 'O the Roast Beef of Old England'.

Hogarth wishes to establish a contrast between French poverty and English prosperity. Taking centre stage in Hogarth's painting we see several half-starved French soldiers, living on thin watery soup, looking on in envy and desperation at the vast side of beef being carried to the English tavern. Meanwhile, a forlorn looking Jacobite sits under the bridge, a raw onion his only sustenance. Here the roast beef symbolises English success in commerce, which, as the English liked to boast, was made possible only by the freedoms – beef and liberty, as the motto inscribed on the brass buttons of the Sublime Society proclaimed – that they enjoyed at home. But, as the presence of the scrawny French soldiers and the starving Jacobite reminds us, this prosperity was won by English strength and bravery in battle.[67]

A desire to look forward, rather than back, also characterised the next significant evolution of the roast beef, which was a cantata (1756) composed by Theodosius Forrest

[67] One poet, conjuring up the spirit of Cumberland's forces, echoed Hogarth's sentiments when he wrote, 'Religion and Roast Beef's at stake...fight for Old England's sake'. See 'Cumberland' in *Fables and Tales for the Ladies* (London: 1750), p.71.

(c.1728-1784), who, like Hogarth was a member of the Sublime Society of Beef Steaks.[68] It is worth noting that whilst Hogarth's print appeared in a rare period of peace, Forrest's cantata came out around the start of what would become the Seven Years War (1756-1763). Forrest's roast beef is not only a message of English prosperity; it is designed to boost morale and suggest that victory over the French is assured so long as roast beef remains in pride of place on the English dining table.[69] Like Leveridge, Forrest is keen to present the roast beef as having a self-evident, almost mythic, presence within English culture. In the cantata, he describes the roast beef as the joy of English monarchs and the theme of 'English ballads' of 'old'. Forrest's lyrics are actually a narrative that relates a series of stories, one for each character in Hogarth's image. In the final verses, which are set to Leveridge's melody, he tells the tale of a frog who, upon seeing the health and massive size of an ox grazing the meadow, boasts of attaining a similar dimension. Yet, for all his straining, the little frog cannot match the mighty ox and finally bursts with the effort. Finally, the song sings out with the moral that, as long as England prospers in 'commerce and arts' there will be 'Sir Loin smoking hot on the table'.[70]

By the 1750s the links between the 'roast beef' and 'old' England were well established. 'The English', as one foreign observer put it, 'constantly adhere to the Roast Beef...of their ancestors'.[71] Indeed, the accomplishments attributed to the Elizabethan forefathers had by now become extraordinary. For example, London's Lord Mayor in 1750, Francis Cokayne (dates unknown), published a *Dissertation on Mr. Hogarth's Prints* in 1751 in which he extolled at great lengths the virtues of Elizabethan England, and made the claim that 'Roast Beef gave vigour to the Arms of our brave Ancestors', and carried them 'to the highest pitch of glory.' It was, he continues, the 'shunning of food for weak wanton, or depraved stomachs', presumably 'soup meagre', that ensured, as Hogarth's art demonstrated, 'the bravery of [English] Heroes' who protected 'our Laws' and 'secured [our] Liberties'. No matter the odds stacked against them in battle, the 'strength and power of these invincible champions' would always win out. Law, liberty, commerce, and even, he argued, 'Religion itself, owe[d] its Reformation and establishment, in a great measure, to their Resolution and prudent Conduct'; they built 'the solid foundation' upon which the 'glorious structure' of present-day England, now stands. But how visible is the difference, he noted sourly, between the people of 'old' England, whose very drinks contained 'healthful herbs', and the 'thin' and 'lean' Englishmen of

[68] Ebenezer Forrest, one of the founding members of the society, was Theodosius's father. Arnold, *The Life and Death of the Sublime Society*, pp. xi-xii. Arnold also mentions that Forrest composed the song of the day for the society, the words and music to which can be found in *The Life and Death,* pp.44-45; According to an advertisement in the *General Evening Post,* September 10, 1761, Hogarth's print and Forrest's cantata were published together in a chapbook. Sadly no copies seem to have survived.

[69] 1756 witnessed another spate of intense invasion scares. See, Cardwell, *Arts and Arms*, pp.27-32.

[70] Forrest's cantata was immensely popular and was reprinted in numerous publications. See, for just a few examples, 'The Roast Beef of Old England' in *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle,* April 21, 1761; *The Bullfinch: A Choice Collection of the Newest and Most Favourite English Songs* (London: 1760), pp.80-83; The song, described as 'Taken from a celebrated print of the Ingenious Mr. Hogarth', also opened D'Urfey, the Younger's *Ways to Kill Care: A Collection of Original Songs* (London: 1761), pp.1-7.

[71] *A Letter to a Young Prince from his Governor, Carl Gustof Tessin* (London: 1755), p.385.

the present day who live on foreign foods and the 'wretches' who drink foreign liquors, such as gin.[72]

Indeed, fears of masculine decline and of foreign cultures pushing out native practices, reached sufficiently ludicrous levels to prompt the quills of satirists. A writer for the weekly paper *The Connoisseur* (which ran from 1754 to 1756), who went by the name of Mr. Town (and was probably the satirist Bonnell Thornton, 1725-1768), vented his obvious frustrations at the absurdity of the 'golden age' in a series of faux letters, written as if from the desk of a concerned elderly gentleman.[73] The 'degeneracy of our present times [and] our shameful neglect of that support of our national strength, Old *English* Roast beef', puffed Bonnell's agitated citizen, was nothing short of a national emergency. An Act of Parliament, he declared, must force the daily consumption of beef, lest 'By Jove...the honour of England and the glory of our nation', be forever lost. It is self-evident, he continues, that the demise in consumption of roast beef amongst our 'young fellows', combined with other 'evils', such as the introduction of 'rammekins' for containing 'toasted cheese', has led directly to the appearance of 'spindle-shanked beaux[s]' who would rather 'close with an orange wench at the playhouse' than engage in 'manly practice[s]' such as boxing.[74]

Bonnell's attack, although obviously overstated for comedic effect, serves to highlight how the roast beef had come to function as a metaphor for an *idealised* gender role, a lodestar pointing the way towards an illusory masculine archetype. How, commentators wailed, could these effeminate 'spindly' men, hope to emulate the triumphs of their 'robust, stout and strong' fathers of old?[75] And how could England ever hope to emerge victorious from another war with France given the state of England's men?[76] Amidst this perturbation and with Britain once again on the verge of war in 1756, Hogarth produced another print, this time designed to buoy confidence and project an air of manly English vigour and enthusiasm to fight. In contrast to spindly youths, in the *Invasion of England, 2* (1756) a well-built young Englishman stands on tiptoes to exaggerate his height and meet the requirements to enlist. To the left of the painting, gathered around a table, Hogarth projects a vision of stout and reassuring English soldiers who mock a caricature of Louis XV without fear (fig. 15).

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[72] Francis Cokayne, *A Dissertation on Mr. Hogarth's Six Prints Lately Published* (London: 1751), pp.30-2.

[73] I would suggest that Bonnell's authorship seems plausible given that he was well known at the time for his ridicule of the attitudes sometimes trotted out in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The London Magazine.* He had also recently moved to write for *The Connoisseur.* Little is known of his career, except what can be found in Paul Baines, 'Bonnell Thornton', *ODNB* (Online, accessed, 17/10/09).

[74] Mr. Town, *The Connoisseur ,* Nos. 19 and 30, 2 vols. (London: 1755-56), i, pp.113-114, 178.

[75] Dr. John Brown was just one voice amongst many who poured scorn on the unmanly entertainments and moral decline he perceived amongst young men. Brown, *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Time* (London: 1758), esp. pp.16-30.

[76] For example, *The Dream; Or, England Invaded* (London: 1756).

Figure 15: *The Invasion of England, 2,* by William Hogarth, 1756. Etching and engraving on paper, 35 x 41 cm. Courtesy of the British Museum.

Hogarth links the manly physique and bravery of these young men directly to the roast beef. He positions on the table, protected by a soldier's sword (which sits on top), a thick cut of beef. The connection is therefore established between the food and the soldier's strength and courage. English prosperity, Hogarth is telling us, has placed this bounty upon the table, and it is from consuming beef that these patriotic young Englishmen will draw the strength to emerge triumphant once more. Humorously, he also makes the link between roast beef and manliness explicit by linking the beef with male virility. Two carving forks are depicted in the image and their relative positioning establishes a link. The first can be seen projecting from the side of the slab of meat on the table, whilst the second is being held by a serving girl, suggestively about the crotch of the (presumably newly enlisted) man with his leg on the table. Roast beef, Hogarth reminds his viewers, is the source of an Englishman's strength, vitality and *other* manly qualities.

The importance of native song:

There is another element to Hogarth's *Invasion of England 2* that is worth dwelling on, and that is the prominent representation of music and song. Hogarth makes at least two references to music in his scene. The first is the figure of a drummer boy, seen lying on the ground, practising *God Save King George* on his fife. The second is a broadside of Arne's *Rule Britannia*, which can be seen hanging over the side of the table. In addition, David Garrick refers to several other popular songs of the day, namely *Britons Strike Home*, 'Old England's Roast Beef', and (possibly in a piece of foreshadowing) William Boyce's *Hearts of Oak*, in the text below the image.[77]

Within English society, these songs helped to establish or reinforce a sense of kinship (through group performance of a shared culture) and were a means for collective purposes and interests (for example, defeating a common enemy, or protecting commerce) to be expressed and reciprocated.[78] In the context of Hogarth's image these songs are given a martial purpose. The fife and drum are both instruments with military associations. Whilst the drummer boy's music accompanies the bravado of the new recruits mocking King Louis; just as it will soon accompany the soldiers drilling in the field behind the tavern, into battle.

Hogarth's intention, I would suggest, is to establish an association between music and courage and he does this by subtly and suggestively linking objects in his painting. Protruding from the side of the beef on the table is, as mentioned above, a fork and the handle of this fork rests upon the broadside *Rule Britannia.* I would argue that Hogarth's linking of the two is not accidental and is designed to establish a connection between one source of English strength, roast beef, and another, English song culture. This link might seem tenuous, until we explore and demonstrate the extraordinary powers to raise manly, martial spirits that were credited to native songs at the time.

The idea that English songs had an important role to play in inspiring native bravery and defending the nation was well established. For example, audiences attending a production

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[77] Garrick wrote the lyrics to William Boyce's 'Hearts of Oak' which was performed for the first time at the Theatre Royal on Drury Lane in 1759; The verses that accompanied *The Invasion of England, 2* are attributed to Garrick by Hogarth in the *Anecdotes of William Hogarth, Written by Himself* (ed.) by J. B. Nichols (London: J. B. Nichols, 1833), p.250.

[78] Accounts of audiences requesting or joining in with the singing of 'patriotic' songs are not infrequent. For example, David Garrick makes a joke out of the frequent calls from the audience for patriotic songs in an epilogue that was published in the *St. James's Chronicle,* June 16, 1761; On audiences as a broad cross-section of Georgian society see, *The Cambridge Companion to the British Theatre, 1730-1830* (ed.) by Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn, (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2007), p.57; The performance of 'Britons strike Home', 'God Save King George', 'Rule Britannia' and 'The Roast beef of Old England' took place frequently between the acts or after theatrical performances. See for example accounts in the *London Evening Post,* March 3, 1763; the *Public Advertiser,* April 3, 1755; Also, see the account of a concert of vocal and instrumental music performed at 'Marybone Gardens' in, *The Public Advertiser,* August 31, 1757; For, an example of audiences at the pleasure gardens being 'desired to join in the chorus' of *Rule Britannia*, see the *Public Advertiser,* June 28, 1763; For musical performances of these songs to accompany the docking of naval ships, see the report from Gosport, in *Whitehall Evening Post, Or, London Intelligencer,* June 22, 1758.

of the opera *The Tempest* were presented with a pre-performance spoken dialogue in which it was claimed that English songs played a vital role in mobilising and inspiring England's men. In the dialogue, the fictional 'critic' Wormwood and the 'actor' Heartly debate Shakespeare's attitude towards songs.[79] The acerbic Wormwood takes the (traditionalist) position that Shakespeare, as a great English poet and playwright, saw little merit in songs and in music in general. Adapting one of Shakespeare's plays to create an opera would, he argued vigorously (in front of an audience about to see just such an adaptation), be an abhorrent act; the last thing any Englishman should want, he fumes, is to see the bard reduced to a 'Shakesporelli'.

In line with the torrent of criticism aimed at Italian music and musicians (much of which was aimed at the ambiguously gendered castrati), Wormwood argues that to accompany such poetry with music would be to make 'a Eunuch of him [Shakespeare]', and rob his words of their manly, English qualities. But, as the argument progresses, Wormwood's foil, Heartly, triumphs by suggesting that, far from 'pervert[ing] nature', as Wormwood puts it, music can, in fact, be a force for the nation's good. To attack all music because of the effeminate qualities inherent within Italian songs is, he claims, a mistake. Instead English songs, like the English language, should be viewed as a force working to ensure the brave English character. As an Englishman, Wormwood has a duty, he is told, to support English songs and English musicians. They are in the front line in opposing the creeping 'effeminacy' that has found its way into society, and are vital to encouraging the Englishman's natural, manly disposition. If the nation is to emerge victorious from the (Seven Years) war, then this manly character must be roused once again. As Heartly explains,

> Let us suppose an invasion...let us suppose
> ten thousand French landed!..
> **Wormwood**: What then?...
> **Heartly**: Why then, I say, let but *Britons Strike Home*
> or *God Save the King*, be found in the ears of five
> thousand brave Englishmen...and they'll drive every
> monsieur into the sea...
> **Wormwood**: Huzza! 'egad you're in the right – you
> have converted me - I'll get a place in the house,
> and be as hearty as the best of 'em for the
> music of Old England!

Such sentiments begin to explain why English songs, 'old' and new, featured so prominently in many prints produced around the mid 1750s. In the anonymous *A Change of Diet* (1757) the potential effects of a French victory upon English culture are seen to impact

[79]The dialogue was printed in *The St. James's Magazine,* 4 vols. (London: 1762), i, pp.144-148.

directly upon the physical constitution of an Englishman and upon English song culture as a whole (fig. 16). The broadside - which is described as a 'sequel to the Roast Beef of Old England' - first appeared after the disastrous and, in the estimations of the songwriter, 'cowardly' attempt to capture the French port of Rochefort in September 1757. According to the author(s), when English courage fails, English culture is put in peril, and without English culture (particularly song culture and diet), the Englishman's natural constitution and spirits suffer.

The song is set after an imagined French victory. To the left of the print a French chef carries off a side of English beef, rejoicing in how it will help the French 'fight tre English Gascons toute a la fois'. In the centre of the print a frog stands triumphant over a dead ox, in all probability a reversal of the final verse of Theodosius Forrest's *Cantata* (1756) that ends with a fable on the victorious ox (England) and the defeated frog (France). Meanwhile, a disconsolate Englishman, head in hand, vomits onto the floor. His vomiting is a visceral bodily demonstration of how French food and culture is incompatible with an Englishman's constitution, and his warning that he may 'vomit up' his heart, speaks of the depths to which these changes in custom and practice are affecting him, physically and 'spiritually'.

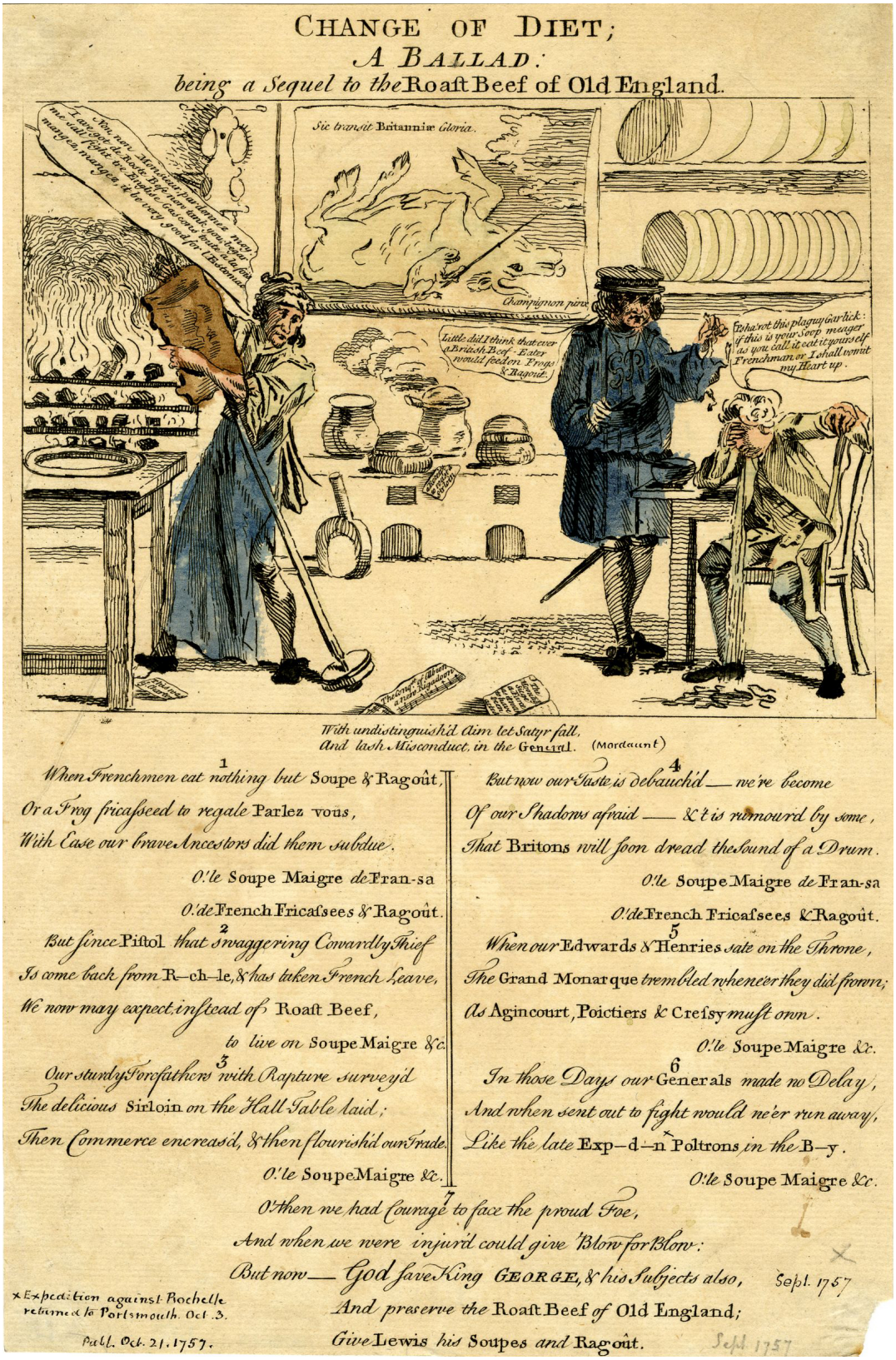

Figure 16: *A Change of Diet,* artists unknown, 1757. Etching and engraving on paper, 26.8 x 17.9 cm. Courtesy of the British Museum. (A note in the bottom right-hand corner, suggests that the song refers to an expedition again 'Rochelle'. In fact the event referenced is the failed assault upon the French port of 'Rochefort').

But it is not just the roast beef that the Englishman has lost for with defeat comes the loss of English song culture. Various pieces of music appear scattered about the print. One is about to be trodden under foot by the French chef. Another sits on the stove. Whilst to the far left, a third shred of paper is about to curl up symbolically in the Frenchman's fire. The paper consigned to the flames is *Rule Britannia* and*,* in its place, the Englishman must now listen to a new sound, a fashionable French 'Rigadoon' titled *The Conquest of Albion*, which takes centre stage on the floor in the foreground.

The idea that native songs could inspire valour and bravery was familiar to some eighteenth-century audiences from the accounts of the 'ancients'. In 1738 an article in Charles Molley's periodical *Common Sense: Or, The Englishman's Journal* contained the following thoughts; 'It would be worth the Nation's while, [to] have composed here (in England)' a tune 'that inspires [the English] with...a love of their Country'. 'According to the best historians', music once had 'astonishing effects' upon the minds of men. Amongst the ancient Greeks, he recalls, it was known that 'pyrrhic tunes' (that is, the melodies in that particular mode) 'had such a martial influence...that they infinitely exceeded our modern marches'.[80] 'I will neye believe', he continued 'that my fellow countrymen have not so much potential courage as the Greeks', and so the fault must lie with musicians, whose compositions fall 'infinitely short of the ancients' and are unable to 'excite' listeners to the same degree. Despite this, songs still retain 'power enough over mens [sic] passions to make [them] worth our care'. Therefore, it is in the 'national benefit', he concluded, that contemporary English composers (he suggests Dr. Maurice Greene) set about composing songs to raise the martial spirits.[81]

Earlier in the century, Jeremy Collier (1650-1726) noted, with firm conviction, that the 'ancients' were far superior at writing music that could touch the passions: 'They knew how to arm a Sound better, and put more Force and Conquest in it than we understood'. This ability, he hazards, was possibly because the ancients 'had a deeper Insight into the...*Laws* of the *Union* of the soul and body...and from thence were enabled to touch the Passions...with greater Advantage'. Despite this, like the aficionado of the 'ancients' in *Common Sense,* Collier still thought that the 'rougher' sounds of music, particularly martial music including the fife and drum, could make the 'blood charge [in a soldier's] veins', his spirits jump like gunpowder, and make him 'impatient to attack his enemy'. Collier even went so far as to suggest, for the consideration of 'military men', that music might be employed against the enemy. For 'I believe 'tis possible', he wrote, 'to invent an Instrument that shall have a quite contrary Effect to those Martial Ones now in use. An instrument that shall sink the spirits and shake the *Nerves*...and inspire *Cowardice* and *Consternation*, at a surprising Rate'.[82]

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[80] For a good contemporary text that weighed up the claims of 'ancients' and 'moderns' see, Malcolm, *A Treatise of Musick*, pp.569-608.
[81] *Common Sense: Or, The Englishman's Journal,* October 14, 1738, No.89.
[82] Collier's two part *Essays Upon Several Moral Subjects* had reached its seventh edition by 1726, but was not much favoured across the remained of the century, probably because of Collier's (who was a

Indeed, the 'effects' of martial music 'now in use' were widely recorded in London's press. Anecdotes by those who had witnessed battles and first-hand testaments by soldiers and sailors recorded how even the 'naturally timorous' could be 'so rais'd up' by native songs and martial sounds that they 'ardently wished to be engaged with the enemy'.[83] But these sentiments were not confined to fighting men they were shared by Britain's men of letters. When the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) was writing his history of England, he included several references to the power of 'national' songs, including the suggestion that Edward I (1239-1307) had every Welsh bard put to death because of their ability to summon up 'military valour and ancient glory' through song.[84]

Certainly not all authors (and fewer as the century progressed) were convinced by the accounts of the 'ancients'.[85] But this did not mean that they did not agree that music had considerable abilities, even if only fleeting, to alter a listener's state of mind. Almost all dissertations on musical aesthetics, whatever the author's 'profession' or bias, begin with some statement to the effect that 'Music is a great and sudden mover of the passions', or that 'The influence of music over our passions is very generally felt and acknowledged'.[86] James Harris, as we saw in chapter one, might have thought music inferior to poetry, but he was in no doubt that music could exert considerable influence over the listener's passions. The precise mechanisms by which this occurred were debated by thinkers across the century, but there was a broad consensus that music and ideas were somehow linked.[87]

Harris's writings provide us with a useful insight into the ways contemporaries thought about the effects of music upon the mind. Having established that music was too vague to be considered imitative, Harris set out to ascertain the 'other source' of its powers. He begins by establishing a base-line, which he was confident few would dispute, that 'there are various affections which may be raised by the power of music'. Sounds may make us 'cheerful, or sad; martial, or tender' and so forth. It is further observed, he continues, 'that there is a reciprocal operation between our Affections, and our Ideas' and that, by means of a 'natural sympathy', certain ideas can give rise to certain affections. By turn, it is also the case that certain affections can give rise to 'the same ideas'. For example, the idea of a funeral can give rise to the affection

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non-juror bishop) high moralising. Collier, *Essay on Several Moral Subjects,* 6th edition, (London: 1709). Part II 'Of Musick'. esp,. pp.26-32.

[83] 'The Power of Musick' in *The London Magazine,* April, 1741.

[84] David Hume, *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688,* 8 vols. (London: 1763), ii, p.247.

[85] For example, Ephiram Chambers noted with scepticism 'The effects ascribed to it [music] by the Antients' which he thought were close to being 'miraculous' in their apparent abilities to correct 'unchastity', quell seditions and raise and calm the passions. Chambers, *Cyclopædia: or, an universal dictionary of arts and sciences,* 2 vols. (London: 1728), ii, see the entry for 'Music'; Also, John Harris, *Lexicon Technicaum: Or, a Universal English Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* 2nd edition, 2 vols. (London: 1723), i, entry for 'Musick'.

[86] Jacob, *Of the Sister Arts*, p.7; Daniel Webb, *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (Dublin: James Williams, 1769), p.1.

[87] On the attempts to explain the links between music and ideas in the previous century see, Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

of melancholy. And likewise, if (for whatever reason) we feel melancholy, our mind can turn to similar 'doleful ideas'. Based upon these observations, he reasons that the power of music lies 'not in imitation', which requires raising ideas (which music is too vague to accomplish), but 'in raising Affections to which ideas correspond'.[88] In other words, music might give rise to maudlin feelings, which in turn move our mind to think on ideas that we associate with melancholia.

With Harris's thoughts in mind let us return to the article in *Common Sense*. It will be recalled that the author of this article suggested the composition of a powerful patriotic song. But he followed this suggestion with a caution that the composer be English,

> It is not from the least distrust of Mr. Handel's Ability that
> I address Doctor Green [to compose the song]:
> But Mr. Handel...[being] by birth a German, might probably,
> even without intending it, mix some modulations, in his
> composition, which might give *German* tendency to the Mind,
> and therefore greatly lessen the National Benefit, I propose by it.[89]

As Harris tells us, certain sounds, certain combinations of notes, could give rise to particular states of mind. And these passions summoned up associated ideas. What concerned the writer in *Common Sense* then, was that a 'foreign' composer might somehow, amidst the 'mix of modulations', produce a song that was not in tune with, to use Harris's word, the English 'affections'.

From this we can infer that Englishness was not something superficial, but was something experienced, cultural and cerebral. However, it was generally accepted that the effects of music were universal, which raised the question of why only native songs could inspire bravery in Englishmen? This question was never fully explored or answered in English writings of this period. Concision and deep thinking on this matter would occur later in the century, but not amongst English writers. Instead, as we shall see, it took place in Scotland, where the native song culture had taken on an even more prominent and profound role in defining a sense of the nation.

Given the serious discussion that went on regarding the potential national benefits of martial and patriotic music, it is perhaps unsurprising that, being 'national' when discussing native musical culture quickly became the *status quo*, and those who were not sensitive to this issue risked coming under fierce attack. The argument between Charles Avison (c.1710-1770) and William Hayes (1708-1777) is well known amongst Handel scholars for Hayes' angry

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[88] Harris, *Three Treatises: The first Concerning Art, the second concerning Music, Painting and Poetry, the third concerning Happiness* (London: 1744), pp.95-99.
[89] *Common Sense: Or, The Englishman's Journal,* October 14, 1738, No. 89. The italics are preserved from the original.

insistence that Avison, when writing his *Essay on Musical Expression* (1752), had not paid George Frederick Handel (1685-1759) deference as a composer of genius. By the 1750s, following, in particular, the success and popularity of his oratorios, the English had adopted Handel (figuratively and literarily – he was naturalised by Act of Parliament in 1727) as a native composer, and this alone gave the debate a patriotically charged element.[90] However, what is particularly striking is that Hayes conflated his defence of Handel with a previously overlooked element of his argument, namely a defence of 'old' English songs and English sacred music. This demonstrates not only the extent to which Handel had been accepted as English, but also just how passionately many English composers felt about the sovereign status of their musical heritage by the middle of the century.

In 1752 Avison, who was a composer, organist and convenor of the Newcastle Musical Society, published his *Essay* and received a swift response from Hayes, an Oxford-based scholar and composer. It was a brutal rebuttal, in which Hayes attacked Avison as a man of little learning, great prejudice and as a composer of limited abilities.[91] To judge by Hayes' acerbic language, it is no exaggeration to say that Avison's supposed lack of fondness for Handel caused considerable irritation. However, Hayes' comments on Handel formed only a small part of his *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (1752). More broadly it was the copious praise that Avison supposedly bestowed upon foreigners that riled the Oxford scholar. In Hayes' eyes, Avison had committed the cardinal sin of overlooking, and so deriding, 'his brethren, the musicians of his own country'.

Such a lack of respect piqued Hayes who was a composer with a keen interest in England's musical heritage. He was knowledgeable on English church music, and was the author of numerous songs in the 'old' English style, including catches, several glees, odes and various other English songs.[92] At the heart of his argument is a defence of English sacred music, which he argues should be viewed as a source of national pride, as being almost wholly English in nature and free from 'foreign' taint. At no point over the past few centuries were English composers, he argues, in need of 'foreign' assistance. Indeed, where Italian influence can be

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[90] On the reception of Handel's oratorios in England see, Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1995).

[91] Twenty-five years later both Hawkins and Burney thought Hayes had won the argument. Hawkins, in his typically tart style, thought Avison had been well and truly put in his place by the learned scholar, whilst Burney, more tactful, thought time had proven Avison wrong in his pronouncements on the quality of several of his favourite French and Italian composers. See Hawkins, *GHoSPM,* v, pp.418-419; Burney, *GHoM,* iv, pp.670-672.

[92] As we have seen, catches and glees were already commonly associated with the Elizabethan 'golden age'. On catches and glees in the sixteenth century see, Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p.4; Also, Viscount Gladstone, *The Story of the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Catch Club* (London: 1930), p.47; Sir John Hawkins mentioned that Hayes won 'medals', given out by the Catch Society (formed 1762) for his compositions in this style. See Hawkins, *GHoSPM,* v, p.420; For Hayes own work see his *Catches, Glees and Canons, for Three, Four and Five Voices* (Oxford: 1757). Also, his *Twelve Arietts or Ballads, and Two Cantatas* (London: 1735). Hayes was a friend of William Boyce and evidently helped Boyce compile his *Cathedral Music,* completed 1773. He also had an extensive collection of Jacobean and Elizabethan music in his private collection. For these details and more, see, Simon Heighes, *The Lives and Works of William and Philip Hayes* (New York: Garland, 1995).

found in the musical record, he states resolutely, it often 'corrupt[s]' the 'purity' of English music by 'bad example'.[93]

As a measure of the intensity of feelings surrounding such matters at the time, when Avison published a reply to Hayes' attack, it was the charge of not promoting the genius of his fellow countrymen that elicited perhaps Avison's most strongly worded rebuke.

> With Respect to my Countrymen, I thought I had Shewn a very high Regard to their Genius and Abilities...Nevertheless, our sanguine Critic has treated this Impartiality as relinquishing the Merits of my own Countrymen; nor will he be satisfied with any Thing less than a plenary Acknowledgement, that they are...superior to all other Nations, in their musical abilities...such a position must surely seem false, and highly absurd to all judges, who esteem it a virtue to be *National,* but not to be *bigotted* [sic].[94]

In England there never occurred the equivalent of the fiery war of words, the so called *Querelle des Bouffons* that erupted in Paris between 1752 and 1754 and in which the defenders of the French musical tradition (rooted in the works of Jean-Baptiste Lully) squared off against the proponents of the Italian opera.[95] But this does not mean that the merits and potentials of native songs, 'old' and new, were not discussed. As we have seen, songs were an important medium through which the English imagined a sense of (a brave and manly) self. Meanwhile English songs (particularly songs that linked an 'old' English past with the present, such as the *Roast Beef*) helped to police English masculine behaviour and (supposedly) inspire English bravery. But the English also used songs to think about and imagine people of other nations. And in chapter three we see how the English responded to the prominent Scottish song culture and used their experience of Scottish songs to help construct a sense of 'Scottishness'.

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[93] William Hayes, *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London: 1753), pp.19, 50-57.
[94] Charles Avison, *A Reply to the Author of Remarks on the Essay on Musical Expression* (London: 1753), pp.45-46. The italics are by Avison.
[95] For an over view of the *Querelle,* see, Cynthia Verba, *Music and the French Enlightenment: Reconstructions of a Dialogue, 1750-1764* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), pp.10-15, 68-9; Also, *French Baroque Opera: a Reader* (ed.) by Graham Sadler and Caroline Wood, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp.95-97; For an analysis of the differences between the French and Italian singing styles that were at the heart of the dispute, see, Elizabeth Hehr, 'How the French Viewed the Differences between French and Italian Singing Styles of the 18th Century', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music,* Vol. 16, No. 1, (1985), 73-85.

Chapter Three: Imagining 'Scottishness' within English song culture, c.1730-c.1763.

First published in 1754, the *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland* provided London's reading public with an account of everyday life in the north of Britain.[1] Originally anonymous, in 1755 the letters were ascribed to Edmund Burt (unknown-1755), an Englishman employed by the British government to collect rents in Scotland.[2] As he journeyed from Edinburgh to the highlands (c.1728-1729), Burt recorded his impressions of the various customs, practices and characters that he encountered. A quarter of a century later, these letters, which included records of everyday drudgery (including spinning, fishing and harvesting) through to whimsical anecdotes, were published. But Burt's chronicles were not written solely to amuse. When he came to edit the papers together, he revealed loftier, more idealistic intentions. 'There are some among our Countrymen', he explained 'who are so prejudice, that they will not allow (or not own) that there is anything good this side of the *Tweed'*.[3] And with this in mind he hoped that a description from life of the 'genuine character' and 'genius of the people' of Scotland might help to remedy English prejudices.[4]

'Anyone who has the least humanity', added his publisher (Samuel Birt) by way of introducing the *Letters*, cannot fail to be distressed by the 'shocking' impressions of the people of the highlands, found in some English books and pamphlets. Much of the blame for this situation, both men agreed, must rest with English writers, and in particular they criticised Daniel Defoe's *True Born Englishman* (1701) and *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-27) which, they thought, had for too long provided the English public with a hostile 'portrait' of the highlander.[5]

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[1] They were not the first traveller's account of Scotland to be published in England. But few accounts of the highlands existed in print. See, Pat Rogers, *Johnson and Boswell in Scotland: The Transit of Caledonia* (Oxford: O.U.P, 1995), p.62, 68-69. Travel writing in general has produced a large amount of scholarly literature in recent decades. For an example of the impact travel could have upon a sense of national identity see Betty Hagglund, "'Not absolutely a native; nor entirely a stranger": The Journeys of Anne Grant', in *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (ed.) by Glen Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.41-54.

[2] D. Stevenson, 'Who was Edmund Burt?' in *Essays for Professor R. E. H. Mellors* (ed.) by A. S. Mather, W. Ritchie and J. C. Stone (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1986), pp.250-259.

[3] Edmund Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London,* 2 vols. (London: S. Birt, 1754), i, p.6.

[4] Burt, *Letters,* i, pp.2-6.

[5] It is not clear whether Samuel Birt was aware that Defoe's *True Born Englishman* was in fact a satire designed to ridicule English xenophobia. Defoe himself stated that the purpose of his writings was to counteract accounts that portrayed Scotland either as 'contemptable' or a 'paradise'. On which, see Tara Wallace, *Imperial Characters: Home and Periphery in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), p.67. Perhaps he thought Defoe's verses about 'Scots from the Frozen North' who 'Thick as Locusts...with Pride and Hungry Hopes...Diseases, and No Money', went too far. Daniel Defoe, *The Trueborn Englishman* (London: 1701), p.17; For Burt's criticisms of Defoe's *Tour Through the Whole island of Great Britain* see, Burt. *Letters*, i, p.6.

Yet, for all his good intentions, Burt still managed to offend some Scots, and when the *Letters* are scrutinised closely, it is not difficult to see why.[6] For Burt's impressions of highland customs and cultural practices, no matter how innocuous and routine, ring with cultural suppositions that cast the highlanders in established modes. Writing less than fifteen years after the failed 1715 Jacobite uprising, Burt, consciously or not, imagines an innate militarism and barbarity running throughout highland life. For example, whilst observing a group of highland women gathering in the harvest Burt wrote that,

> They all keep time together, by the several barbarous Tones of voice; and stoop and rise...as a rank of soldiers when they ground their Arms [and] Sometimes they are incited to their work by the sound of a bagpipe.[7]

Burt's *Letters* are an interesting and important historical account of the highlands in the 1720s. I have mentioned them here, specifically because there are four things of significance, I would suggest, that we can draw out of the short account I have provided and that will be of relevance to the trajectory of this chapter. Firstly, the *Letters* tell us that some Englishmen were certainly aware of the sometimes fabricated nature of 'highland', indeed 'Scottish', identity in the English media. Secondly, they tell us that Englishmen did sometimes seek to redress these misrepresentations. Thirdly, they alert us to the fact that certain suppositions about highland identity were so deeply engrained within English culture that they were almost invisible, even to a conscientious Englishman trying to overturn them. Finally, Burt's comments on Daniel Defoe remind us of the important role that the English media played in imagining a sense of 'Scottishness'.

The purpose of this chapter is to track aspects of 'Scottish' identity, as they were mediated within English culture, from the 1730s, when the popularity of Scottish song in London was at its peak, through to the period of the Bute Ministry (c.1762-63) and the end of the Seven Years War (1763). This chapter therefore covers the same period of time as chapter two, and picks up many of the threads concerning English attitudes towards Scottish music that were explored in chapter one. Although this chapter primarily covers the period c.1730-c.1763, some of the characterisations of Scottishness that I will be dealing with require, as Burt's latent stereotyping as early as the 1720s indicates, consideration of Scottishness over a longer duration of time. In places this chapter therefore ranges back into the late seventeenth century.

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[6] Burt's frequent anecdotes, designed to be humorous, but often at the expense of Scots that he encountered, evidently irritated Sir David Dalrymple (1726-1792), who branded him 'an ignorant fellow'. See, R. P. Doig, 'A bibliographical study of Gough's *British topography*', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, Vol. 4, No.3, (1963), 103–36.

[7] Burt, *Letters*, ii, pp.142-43.

The period c.1730-1763 was one of considerable change and upheaval for both Scotland and England and within the historiography much emphasis has been placed upon the tensions that existed between the two kingdoms. English fears of Jacobite insurrection dominate studies of the 1740s and, when writing on the 1750s, historians tend to emphasise an increase in English xenophobia in response to growing Scottish prosperity and success in commerce, politics and letters.[8] This Scotophobia is typically judged to have peaked in the attacks upon the Scottish politician John Stuart, Earl of Bute (1713-1792), who was made First Minister to George III in 1762.

I have no intention of contesting these broad trends, indeed, some of the sources used within this chapter, support claims of English insecurity and xenophobia, particularly in the early 1760s. I do, however, seek to offer a more nuanced picture of English attitudes and some of the evidence I present suggests that we must be wary of casting the English in a wholly 'hostile' role. Edmund Burt was correct when he noted the enormous influence cultural representations of Scottishness could have over English perceptions. Few Englishmen, particularly Londoners, had reason to make the long journey to Scotland and therefore gathered their impressions of Scots from a variety of sources, including media and discourses. One key claim made by this chapter is that, between c.1739 and c.1763, the Englishman's sense of Scottishness was heavily mediated through characters that appeared within English song culture.

The first part of this chapter tracks shifts in the popularity of Scottish songs in London and considers how Scottish musicians responded to these changes. It is argued that c.1739-c1763 was a period of transition during which the popularity of Scottish songs in print continued unabated, whilst the English desire to hear Scottish music in the theatres, taverns and other London venues, gradually declined. In order to track continuity and change in the construction of Scottishness, the second part of this chapter focuses upon two characters called Jockey and Jenny, who featured prominently in the English cultural landscape. The nature of these characters changed and these changes are tracked and contextualised alongside events, such as the '45, that might have influenced English attitudes towards the Scottish people. In the final part of this chapter I explore the ways in which aspects of Scottish musical culture, most notably the bagpipes, operated as key signifiers of Scottishness that were linked to the imagined Scottish traits of sexual potency and martial prowess.[9] It is argued that Scottish musical activities, particularly the playing of pipes and Scottish dancing, featured heavily within English patriotic media of the early 1760s. As we shall see, the greater energy and vibrancy of Scottish songs were linked to the Scotsman's supposed virility. Representations of bagpipes and Scottish

[8] For example, *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (ed.) by T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (East Linton: Tucknell Press, 1999), esp. pp.1-23, 53-69; Colley. *Britons,* pp.117-132; Langford. *A Polite and Commercial People,* pp.323-29.

[9] Colley*, Britons,* p.121. At the core of what Wilkes regarded simply as 'Scottishness' was, as Colley herself notes, an 'obsession...with Scottish sexual potency'; Kathleen Wilson has also demonstrated John Wilkes' promotion of, what she terms, 'manly patriotism'. Wilson, *A Sense of the People,* p.206-237.

music making were therefore used to challenge English masculinity, and, once again, as was the case with militia songs, English masculinity was imperilled by the representation of a threat to English womanhood. Furthermore, because of the popularity and ubiquity of Scottish songs in print, allusions to Scottish music could serve a secondary purpose, namely to threaten the survival of English song culture.

A shift in English tastes:

As we have seen, between 1718 and 1739, Scottish music gained immense popularity in London. Beyond the 1730s, however, we are confronted by a notable shift in tastes. Although proving a direct correlation is difficult, we can say that, as the number of English song publications increased, so the number of Scottish musical 'entertainments' performed across London declined.[10] Despite the continuing popularity of Allan Ramsay's song collections, and despite the efforts, as we shall see, of men such as James Thomson (1700-1748), David Mallet (c.1705-1765) and James Oswald (1711-1769), the enthusiasm for Scottish music began to evaporate. In contrast to previous decades, only one 'Scotch Air' is known to have been performed in London throughout this period.[11] A total of 28 Scottish dances, which had proved so popular in the twenties and thirties, are recorded taking place in London during 1739, but this figure declined year on year until the number totalled just ten in 1745, just three by 1752 and finally just one by 1763.[12] Indeed, aside from the popularity of Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd,* the first performance of which in 1746 was followed up by numerous repeats in the 1750s and 1760s, the managers of English theatres began dropping Scottish music from their productions. Apart from the occasional advertisement for a 'Scotch song', 'sonata' or the occasional performance of a 'Scotch opera', Londoners' love affair with Scottish theatrical entertainments gradually waned.

Scottish expatriates writing for the London stage seem to have tried resisting this trend. However, their desire to keep Scottish music prominent within the theatres proved ultimately unsuccessful, and this was due in part to some English resistance. A tension developed between Scots keen to promote their native culture and Englishmen who, for patriotic or commercial purposes, sought to tap into the fashion for English songs, 'old' and new. This tension can be seen in a dispute between the English composer Charles Burney (1726-1814) and the Scottish dramatist David Mallett. Burney, who is not typically renowned for his salient patriotism,

[10] We can contrast the 441 Scottish entertainments that occurred between 1718 and 1736 with the 195 events recorded between 1737 and 1800. Figures obtained by totaling all Scottish themed musical entertainments recorded in *The London Stage,* vol. iii (1961). Also, *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4: 1747-1776,* 2 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1962); And, *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 5: 1776-1800,* 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1968).
[11] The 'Scotch Air' was performed at a concert on 11 February 1752, listed in the *General Advertiser*. No more are recorded until 1771.
[12] Numbers obtained from the *Index to the London Stage* 1660-1800 (ed.) by William Van Lennep, et al. (1979), see the entry for 'Scotch Dance' p.750.

nevertheless became involved in a dispute over the musical arrangement of a theatrical production in the early 1750s. In the late 1740s Mallet, Oswald and the young Charles Burney became acquainted through the networks of the 'Temple of Apollo', a secretive society for musicians.[13] In 1751 the three decided to collaborate on a revival of Thomas Arne's masque *Alfred,* which they would stage at David Garrick's Theatre Royal.[14] But relations soured after Mallet began to press Burney to replace all of Arne's original melodies with arrangements of 'old' Scots songs. For Burney, the idea of converting the English masque into a Scots ballad opera seemed risky.[15] Although they still made sporadic appearances on the stage, Burney would almost certainly have been aware that 'Scots operas' were no longer performed at London's major venues.[16]

On this occasion, however, a compromise was reached and, in recognition of the continuing popularity of Scottish music in general, Burney agreed to let Mallet work at least two Scottish songs into the piece. Although the masque was not unsuccessful, the alterations made evidently caused some disquiet. For example, shortly after production started, a notice was placed in the newspapers warning those who turned up expecting to see the masque in 'its first draught [sic]', that the play was not the same as 'that formerly written under the same title'.[17] By the 1750s *Alfred* had become established as a work celebrating British naval success and commemorating the British nation's fallen 'heroes'. For example, in 1753 *Alfred* was being accompanied in the theatre by 'a solemn dirge in Honour of the Heroes who died in service of their country', in which an imitative part for the oboe would replicate the sound of the nation's weeping.[18] It seems likely, therefore, that Burney's hesitancy stemmed from his sense that the public might take exception to the 'Scottification' of this established English theatre piece. In addition, Burney had his own, patriotic, reasons for objecting to the changes. His price for agreeing to Mallett's inclusion of just two Scottish songs had been, that 'the Ode in Honour of Great Britain...Rule Britannia', remain in place.[19] Years later, Burney commented that his

[13] It seems likely that the club had very few members, and was created by Burney and a few friends to sound prestigious. F. Kidson, 'James Oswald, Dr Burney, and "The temple of Apollo"', *Musical Antiquary*, No.2 (1910–11), 34–41; A more recent summary of the 'Society' is provided by Mary Anne Alburger, 'Musical Scots and Scottish Music Patrons in London and Edinburgh', in *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century,* (ed.) by Stana Nenadic (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010), p.192.
[14] Arne's Masque *Alfred* went through numerous revisions and updates after its first appearance in 1740. Some were successful, but most were never staged more than once. See Michael Burden, *Garrick, Arne and the Masque of Alfred: A Case Study in National, Theatrical and Musical Politics* (Lewiston, N. Y and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994), esp. pp.31-79.
[15] Roger Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), p.34.
[16] The occasional 'Scots opera' did make it to the stage, but typically at less auspicious venues like Westminster Hall. For example, 'The Double Traitor Roasted: A New Scots Opera', a comedy, made a brief appearance at Westminster Hall in January 1748. *The London Stage,* vol. 4, (1962), part 1, p.22.
[17] *London Evening Post,* 5 March, 1751.
[18] Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.228.
[19] The *General Advertiser,* 26 February, 1751.

unwillingness to cut *Rule Britannia* from the score stemmed from his sense that it was 'the most pleasing, and the best song that ever was produced by a native of England in our language'.[20]

But Mallet's attempts to 'Scottify' the masque were based on more than wishful thinking. Despite the increasing reluctance of impresarios to allow Scottish entertainments time on the stage, he had good reason to believe Scottish songs would still appeal to English audiences. Across the period, despite the shift in tastes within the theatres, the market in London remained relatively buoyant for publishers of Scottish song collections. Whilst the numbers of solely Scottish song collections published in London did decline, this was primarily because, as Edinburgh prospered and the number of printing presses increased, greater numbers of collections were now being produced in the Scottish capital.[21] Aware of their popularity south of the Tweed, Scottish publishers produced a steady stream of song collections, and by the second half of the century almost all Scottish song collections were printed outside of London. So, of the eighteen solely Scottish musical collections published between 1739 and 1780, only two were printed in London.[22]

For those Scots willing and able to embrace the different 'national' styles, particularly the Italian (which was, by the 1750s in vogue in Edinburgh as well as London), the rewards could be substantial.[23] The composer James Oswald was, if measured by the status of the patrons he secured, the most successful Scottish musician of the eighteenth century. Whilst his apparent inability to settle upon a style of his own has drawn scorn from some twentieth-century musicologists, it was arguably his willingness to integrate fashionable Italian influences into his arrangements of Scottish songs that led to a string of highly successful publications across the 1750s.[24] Oswald's success came partly due to his ability to make Scottish songs refined enough

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[20] Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney,* p.34.

[21] On the often tempestuous relationship between the printers of London and Edinburgh, and on the growth of the Edinburgh presses, see Richard Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp.306-318.

[22] The two published in London were J. Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Guide* (London: c.1742) and B. Thumoth, *Twelve Scottish and Irish Airs with Variations* (London: c.1745); The sixteen printed in Scotland were: J. Oswald, *Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: 1739); F. Barsanti, *Collection of Old Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: 1742); W. McGibbon, *A Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: 1742); R. Bremner, *Thirty Scots Songs for Voice and Harpsichord...the Words by Allan Ramsay* (Edinburgh: 1757); Bremner, *A Curious Collection of Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: 1759); Bremner, *A Collection of Scots Reels and country Dances* (Edinburgh: 1759-61); N. Stewart, *A Collection of the Newest and Best Reels and Country Dances* (Edinburgh: 1761-62); Stewart, *A Collection of Scots and English Tunes* (Edinburgh: c.1762); Stewart, *Collection of Scots Songs* (Edinburgh: 1762); F. Peacock, *Fifty Favourite Scotch Airs for a Violin* (Aberdeen: 1762); C. McLean, *A Collection of Favourite Scots Tunes* (Edinburgh: 1772); D. Dow, *Thirty Seven Reel* (Edinburgh: c.1775); D. Dow, *Twenty Minuets* (Edinburgh: c.1775); J. Aird, *A Selection of Scottish, English, Irish and Foreign Airs* (Glasgow: 1775); A. Cummings, *A Collection of Strathspey or Old Highland Reels* (Edinburgh: c.1780).

[23] On Italian music in Edinburgh see Henry Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London: Robert Stockwell, 1947), p.253; Also, Claire Nelson, 'Tea-Table Miscellanies', p.597.

[24] Farmer, *A History of Music in Scotland*, p.253; John Purser has recently challenged this position by suggesting that much of Oswald's Italian music was designed to satirise the Italian conventions. Purser, *Scotland's Music,* p.206, 215; Oswald's most successful publication was probably his *Caledonian Pocket Companion* (c.1745) which ran to 15 volumes and many editions; For a biography on Oswald see, D. Johnson and H. Melvill, 'Oswald, James', *New Grove*, 2nd edition; also, David Johnson, *Music in*

to appeal to elite and middling English audiences. Frequently he adapted tunes from the 'canon' of Scottish songs laid down by Allan Ramsay and William Thompson. Within a single publication, he would include songs laden with Scottish signifiers, for example, the ornamentation and gapped scale evident in his adaptation of the *Lass of Peaties Mill,* and less ornate arrangements with English lyrics.[25]

In addition, Oswald knew how to ingratiate himself with his English clients. For example, in 1759 he published his *Fifty-Five Marches for the Militia,* which contained an alphabetically ordered set of songs for each English county from 'Anglsea' to 'Yorkshire, East Ridings'. In so doing he offered a coffee-table publication for those Englishmen whose purses might keep any ensuing conflict at arm's length, but who would nevertheless want to demonstrate their loyalty when in company.

Contrasted with the decline of Scottish songs in the theatres then was the continued popularity of Scottish song publications, particularly refined (and expensive) collections, in print. Perhaps, these trends suggest that shifts in taste, and indeed attitudes towards Scots in general, might be best considered along lines of social demography. For if a desire to hear Scottish entertainments remained high amongst elites, but declined in taverns and theatres, this might suggest that attitudes towards Scottishness in England differed according to social rank.[26] Certainly, it has been argued that some Englishmen saw the influx of Scots into London around the middle of the century as cause for alarm.[27] Whether or not a noticeable shift took place in attitudes amongst the broader population of London is better determined from 'common' songs, and in the next section of this chapter we track the characterisation of Scots within English broadsides, chapbooks and the less expensive song publications.

Jockey and Jenny:

Publications full of 'national' songs, such as those by James Oswald, certainly sold well amongst London's wealthier consumers, but it is doubtful if they reached as many English ears as the songs published in cheap song collections and printed as broadsides. It is within media such as this that a pair of lovers named Jockey and Jenny appeared frequently across roughly

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Lowland Scotland, (2003), esp. pp. 61-2 and 118-19: For insightful analysis of some of Oswald's music see, J. Barlow, 'Preface', in J. Oswald, *Airs for the Seasons, for Flute (or Violin) and Continuo,* 4 vols. (Chester Music Society, 1983).

[25] The 'Lass of Peatie's Mill*'* is followed in one of his collections by the noticeably less ornate and less rhythmically Scottish 'Polwart on the Green*'*. James Oswald, *A Collection of the Best Old Scotch and English Songs,* (London: 1761), pp.3-4.

[26] Oswald's royal patronage seems to have begun fairly soon after he arrived in London in 1741, with the London edition of his *Curious Collection of Scots Songs* bearing a dedication to the Prince of Wales. And in 1761, the young George III appointed Oswald to his household as chamber composer. All this lends support to Linda Colley's argument that beyond c.1760, a sense of Britishness can be detected in the nobilities acknowledgment of Scots as fellow Britons. Colley, *Britons,* p.119.

[27] Paul Langford, 'South Britons' Reception of North Britons, 1707-1820' in *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603-1900* (ed.) by T. C. Smout (Oxford: O.U.P, 2005), pp.143-170; For estimations of the number of Scots who moved to London during this period see, Nenadic, *Scots in London,* pp. 14-7.

two hundred years. Between c.1660 and c.1850 these characters continued to feature side-by-side, in, literally hundreds of, what we might loosely term (to borrow from the categorisations Pepys applied to his own collection) 'love pleasant' and 'love unfortunate' songs.[28] Jockey was always presented as a young Scottish lad, who amorously pursued, but not always with success, the character of Jenny, a young maid. Sometimes Jenny was described as being Scottish, but typically her national identity was left unstated. However, Jockey's national identity was always signalled to the audience, and this was achieved either by the use of Scotticisms in the character's dialogue, by specific reference to Scottish locations, or, very occasionally (in very early ballads) by the Scottish style clothing depicted in the accompanying wood-cut prints (fig.17).[29]

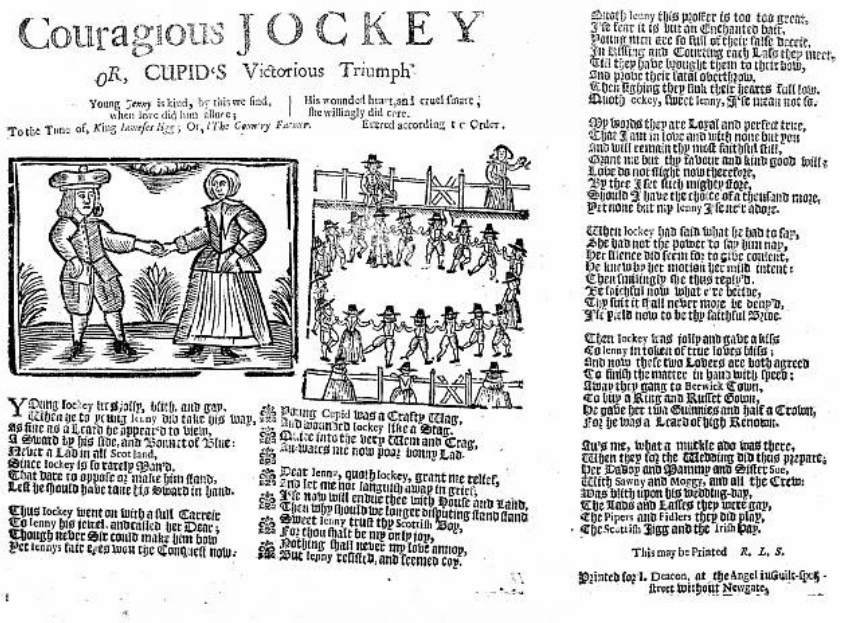
Couragious JOCKEY
OR, CUPID'S Victorious Triumph

Fig. 17: *Couragious Jockey,* (London: c.1670-c.1700). Black-letter ballad with woodcut print, 20 x 28cm, Pepys Ballad collection, Cambridge. Here, Jockey's 'Scottishness' is signified simply by an exaggerated Scottish bonnet.

In the late 1680s and into the 1690s the characters featured in several songs as loyal lowland Scottish warriors fighting for King William in his campaign against the Irish and

[28] Several dozen examples can be found in the Pepys ballad collection. See, for just a few examples, 'The Scotchman's Lamentation', *Pepys,* (London: c.1662-1692), iii, p.340; 'The Loves of Jockey and Jenny', *Pepys,* (London: c.1682), iv, p.110; 'The Scotch Hay-Makers', *Pepys,* (London: c.1670-c.1701), v, p.266; Dozens more, dating from the last half the seventeenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century can be found in the Bodleian Ballad Archive in Oxford. See for example, *Jockey and Jenny* (Manchester: c.1850-c.1899), 2806 c.16(62); Henry Fielding was well aware of the Jockey and Jenny 'Scotch songs' and mentioned them in *The History of Tom Jones a Foundling* (London: 1749), p.119; On the history of the collection and Pepys's system of categorisation see Richard Luckett, 'The Collection: Origins and History', in *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*, 2 vols. (ed.) by Helen Weinstein (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994).

[29] See 'Couragious Jockey; Or, Cupid's Victorious Triumph', (London: c.1670-c.1700), *Pepys,* iv, p.38.

highland 'rebels'. For example, in *The Maiden-Warrier; Or, the Damsel's Resolution to Fight in Field, by the side of Jockey, her entire Love* (1689), Jenny, who in this instance is Jockey's wife, sets out in disguise to fight for King William's cause, and protect her husband.[30] Several historians have stressed the importance of monarchy to the English sense of national unity.[31] As we saw in the example of the *Loyal Highland Lass,* in chapter one, the English often imagined Scots who were loyal to the crown, and Jockey and Jenny were no exception.

By the 1730s the characters of Jockey and Jenny would have been most familiar to English audiences through the song *Jockey's Lamentation,* which appeared in D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy* and was reworked by Allan Ramsay, in Scottish dialogue, for his *Tea-Table Miscellany*.[32] In the seventeenth century numerous accompanying 'tunes' were used, but by the eighteenth century they had been replaced, in almost all instances, by one melody, *The Wind hath blow'd my plad away,* which, by the 1730s, was more typically known by the title *Tis O'er the Hills, and Far Away.* Songs such as *Jockey's Lamentation* functioned more as warnings against the supposed inconstancy of women, than jokes or commentaries on Scottishness. In the hands of both D'Urfey and Ramsay, and indeed in most appearances by the character in the late seventeenth-century English songs, Jockey the Scot was a sympathetic love-sick youth. His attempts to woo Jenny were typically presented as honest and well intentioned and, whilst sometimes the song would end with a marriage, in many examples Jockey was left broken hearted.[33] For example, in *Jockey's Lamentation,* from D'Urfey's *Pills,* we are told the story, in eight verses, of a piper's son 'from Scotland fair' who, sings of his despair and sorrow about his continuing but hopeless love for Jenny. Jenny, it seems, has stolen his heart and sworn to be faithful, but has now abandoned her young suitor. In despair Jockey asks Cupid, in the manner of a forsaken Dido, to pierce his 'false one to the heart', so that she might share his pain. The attempted revenge is, however, unsuccessful and by the end of the song Jockey vows never to fall in love again.

However, during the 1730s a variety of English songs about Jockey and Jenny appeared in which the tone became more whimsical and laden with innuendo. In Joseph Mitchell's Scotch opera *The Highland Fair,* Jockey sings boastfully of his 'Person, fashion'd well, [and] full of vigour, straight, and strong, [which] makes the maiden's pine, and the married women

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[30] Songs in which the 'world was turned upside down', and women performed roles traditionally performed by men, were not uncommon in the second half the seventeenth century. *Pepys,* iii, p. 308.
[31] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1993), pp.1, 25; Colin Kidd, 'Protestantism, Constitutionalism and British Identity Under the Later Stuarts' in *British Consciousness and Identity: the Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (ed.) by Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1998), pp.321-342; Of course, loyalty to a particular monarch could depend upon political allegiances, Wilson, *Sense of the People,* pp.194, 267-8, 389.
[32] D'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth* (1706), iv, p.99; Allan Ramsay, *Tea Table Miscellany; Or, A Collection of Scots Sangs,* 10th edn. (Dublin: 1734), p.326.
[33] See for example, 'Couragious Jockey, Or, Cupid's Victorious Triumph', in *Pepys*. iv, p.38.

long'.[34] References to Scottish sexual potency can be found in songs dating back to least the 1670s, with several English songs mentioning Jockey's character being 'rarely Man'd'.[35] Whilst such songs hinted at Jockey's sexual potency, any threat to propriety or the social order was negated by Jockey's loyalty to the crown or his adherence to conventions of marriage and fidelity. By the 1730s, however, Jockey began to take on a roguish persona as a character bent on sexual conquest. Jockey became, as in the *Highland Fair,* noticeably boastful and promiscuous, chasing women for sexual conquest rather than marriage. Here, innuendo had been combined with behaviour that threatened the social order and, by the end of the 1730s, Jockey was more often depicted as an amorous young 'Scot' who, often by deceit and promises of marriage, lured the young maid Jenny into his bed. Hence songs with titles such as *Jockey's Conquest,* and *Jenny the Pedlar and Amorous Jockey* could be found in most song books and in numerous chapbooks published in England during the 1740s and 1750s.[36]

Jockey was presented as a generic 'Scot', implying that he was a lowlander. Typically, if the character was supposed to be of highland origin, then this would be signalled to the audience and common indicators included the wearing of tartan and kilts and hyper-sexual potency. Associations between 'highlanders' and sexual potency date to at least the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and can be seen in a well known Scottish song cycle of that period. In its earliest incarnations, the song *The Highland Laddie* contrasted the charms of highlanders with the gaudiness, vanity, and idleness of their lowland countrymen. Hence in Allan Ramsay's treatment of the song the luxury of lowland life is scornfully contrasted to the simplicity and romance of the highlands.[37] So whilst a 'lawland [sic] Laird and Lady' might be pleased by a painted room and silken bed, the highlander would rather 'kiss...behind a bush in Highland Plaidy'. Here the 'manly looks', of the highlander, to use Allan Ramsay's words, also contrasted with the effeminate, luxury loving Englishman. Whilst in other Scottish broadsides, the sexual conquests of the laddie and the 'mein' (that is, the look or manner), of his 'quiver [that] hang[s] down by his thigh', are given as proof that he is no 'English-fop, nor lowland laddie'.[38]

By the 1740s, overshadowed by the prospect of a Jacobite-French invasion, the idea of the highlander's sexual allure, which might well have been a Scottish (highland) conceit to begin with, was used in the English media to cast Jacobites in the role of marauding sexual

[34] The song, 'Jockey's fit and Jenny's fain' in Joseph Mitchell's, *The Highland Fair; Or, Union of the Clans, an Opera* (London: 1731), p.15.
[35] 'Couragious Jockey', *Pepys*. iv, p.38.
[36] Just a few examples include, *The Musical Companion; Or, Lady's Magazine* (London: 1741), p.19; *The Merry Companion; Or, Universal Songster* (London: 1742), p.359; Henry Scougal, *A New Academy of Compliments* (London: 1748), pp.113-14; *Orpheus; A Collection of One Thousand and Seventy Four of the Most Celebrated English and Scotch Songs* (London: 1749), p.45; 'The Tell-Tale' in *The Winter Evenings Companion* (London: 1759), pp.124-25; *Apollo's Cabinet,* 2 vols. (Liverpool: 1757), i, p.90; *The Vocal Medley* (York: 1755), pp.3-4; Also, the chapbooks *The Preston Pans Garland* (Newcastle: 1750), p.7; *The Tulip* (London: 1750), p.7; and, in the Huntingdon Library Collection, *A Collection of New Songs* (Worcester: 1760), pp.2-3, Cat. No. 150727.
[37] Ramsay, *Tea-Table Miscellany*, (1724), pp.169-70.
[38] *The New Way, of the Bonny Highland Laddie,* Rosebery Collection, NLS, RY.111.a.10.f.89.

predators. In English anti-Jacobite imagery from 1745-46 the highlander's sexual presence was established as a direct threat to English womanhood. In *The Highland Visitors* (fig. 18), for example, the Jacobite army is on the march south. But, along the way, Charles Stuart's highlanders are shown burning houses and barns, looting chests and sexually assaulting several struggling women (fig. 19).

Figure 18: *The Highland Visitors* (London: 1745/46). Etching, attributed to Van Guzzel. 25 x 41cm, Lewis Walpole Library collection, Yale.

Figure 19: Detail from *The Highland Visitors,* showing one of Charles' troops attempting to rape a woman lying supine on the ground. Meanwhile, two of his compatriots drag a second woman into a nearby house.

The high sexual appeal of the 'manly' highland 'laddie' was soon transferred onto the person of Charles Edward Stuart. In *Scotch Female Gallantry* (fig. 20), the Pretender to the throne appears as a rakish, elaborately dressed figure. He is shown surrounded by Scottish lowland women, who find him irresistible. One kisses his robe, another, his sash, and a third the tip of his finger. Meanwhile, to the left of the scene, a curtain is pulled back to reveal a waiting bed. In the verse below, the ladies of England are warned to be on their guard, lest, once clasped to their bosoms, the venomous snake strikes.

Figure 20: *Scotch Female Gallantry* (London: 1745-46). Engraving, 21 x 28cm, Lewis Walpole Library Collection, Yale.

Despite the appearance of such aggressive stereotyping, it is difficult to assess whether or not 'Scottishness' was indelibly marred by association with Jacobitism. After all, on both sides of the Tweed, reactions to the Pretender's claims were mixed. Jacobitism was not, and never had been, a solely Scottish movement and support for the Stuart cause existed, if well hidden, in pockets the length and breadth of England and lowland Scotland.[39] Recent scholarship in, what is now self-styled as, 'Jacobite Studies' has begun to highlight the complex, by no means always antithetical or hostile, relationship between Jacobites and British, 'Whig' society.[40] What we can say, based upon the analysis of prints such as *Scotch Female Gallantry*, and from a broad analysis of English song culture of the period, is that such

[39] The extent of Jacobite support across Britain has been hotly contested. Many prominent British figures have been scrutinised, and arguments and counter arguments made, regarding their potential Jacobite leanings. See, for example, the essays both for and against Lord Burlington's (1694-1753) Jacobite sympathies in *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life,* (ed.) by Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (London: Hambledon, 1995); Daniel Szechi has highlighted the extent of Jacobite support amongst English Tories prior to the 1715 uprising. D. Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-1714* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984); Whilst Paul Monod's survey has revealed the wide range of English responses to Jacobitism across much of the eighteenth century. Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1989).

[40] Recent scholarship has revealed that certain forms of 'Britishness' were acceptable to Jacobites, allowing for at least a partial sense of integration into British society. Paul Monod, 'Thomas Carte, the Druids and British National Identity' in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad,* (ed.) by Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 132-148.

aggressive English stereotyping was largely reserved for the Jacobites. Although the label of 'rebel' was often used unfairly to tarnish the inhabitants of the highlands, it was by no means the case that the English constantly applied the term 'Jacobite' with its negative baggage, to a generic 'Scot'. Jockey, for example, never morphed into a threatening sexual predator, even amidst the tensions of the '45 uprising, and whilst it is important that we not play down the existence of English Scotophobia at that time, we should also stress that many Londoners knew the Jacobite 'rebels' to be atypical of Scots as a whole. As one contemporary historian, who had seen some of the fighting first hand, put it, 'it is very unjust (as some ignorant people are apt) to brand the Country [Scotland] in general with the infamous Name of Rebels'.[41]

It is also worth noting that the 1745-46 uprising, far from causing an unbridled upsurge of anti-Scottish hostility, seems to have had little direct effect upon the popularity of Scottish songs. Collections continued to be published even amidst the fear and uncertainty that gripped the capital across 1745-46. We might assume that English attitudes towards Scottish culture followed the shifts in Anglo-Scottish relations. But, as we have seen, there are no straightforward correlations. Indeed, the insecurity generated by the '45 led more directly to the production of songs dealing with anxieties surrounding the uncertain outcome of the conflict, rather than outright Scotophobia. The success of James Oswald's *Caledonia Pocket Companion* (1745) and the continued re-publication of Allan Ramsay's song collections all point towards an on-going demand for Scottish musical culture in print. Song collections featuring English and Scottish songs were still common, so much so that the author of the *Aviary; Or, Magazine of British Melody* felt compelled to apologise for the 'almost inexcusable' addition of yet another compilation to the marketplace; a decision that he justified with the dubious claim that, unlike his competitors, his songs were actually Scottish.[42] That same year, the tellingly titled collection of English and Scots songs *Universal Harmony* was published and proved successful enough to warrant a second edition in 1746.[43] Thomas Arne's *Lyric Harmony,* also published in 1745, made use of the Scots snap.[44] And Burke Thurmouth published his *Twelve Scotch and Twelve Irish Airs,* in the midst of the rebellion, in 1745.

Nor were Scottish musicians living in London ostracised. When Handel was casting a singer for the performance of his patriotic song for the London Gentlemen Volunteers, he chose

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[41] James Ray, *A Complete History of the Rebellion* (York: 1749), p.395.
[42] 'Preface' in *The Aviary* (London: J. Mechell, 1745).
[43] *Universal Harmony* was clearly aimed at a more refined consumer. Each song was arranged for harpsichord, voice and flute. At the top of each page is an engraving, typically relating to events or settings within the song, or depicting rural landscapes. In this regard it bears resemblance to a 'polite' variation upon the common cheap block printed images found in seventeenth-century broadside ballads. Although the *Universal Harmony* contains some songs made popular by Allan Ramsay, for example *Corn Riggs are Bonny* (p.49), most of the songs within the collection are by James Oswald.
[44] There was, as mentioned in chapter one, a brief fashion for calling such publications 'British' towards the end of the 1730s. However this did not last. For most of the century, as English song culture grew in popularity, and as publishers sought to preserve distinctions between 'national' songs, publications became more typically labelled 'Collections of English and Scottish songs'; On the Scottish elements in Arne's *Lyric Harmony,* see Fiske, *Scotland in Music*, p.24.

a Scottish tenor named Joseph Lowe (dates unknown) to be the male lead.[45] Anti-Jacobite plays did appear on the London stage, but, when the theatres were open (and the Rebellion hampered production, forcing many to close during the 1745-46 season), the managers seem to have been far more likely to put on allegorical history plays depicting French treachery and barbarity.[46] Hence, Nathaniel Lee's *The Massacre at Paris* (c.1690) was revived and advertised as a 'historical play', grounded 'on facts' of French deceit and intolerance of Huguenots, and at the end of which the audience was invited to engage with a chorus of 'Long live the King'.[47] Songs like *Old England Forever* made appearances between the acts and other works, particular those linking French and Jacobite complicity in a Catholic plot, enjoyed popularity.[48]

It is worth stressing that on both the Hanoverian and the Stuart sides, songs were used to propagate the legitimacy and the appeal of the regimes. Pro-Hanoverian or anti-Jacobite songs were produced in lowland Scotland, by Scots responding to the uprising. In Edinburgh, most song writers chose to demonstrate their lack of sympathy for the Jacobite cause by publishing ballads that mocked highland lairds who bravely toasted 'Bless and Restore', but, when faced by Hanoverian bayonets, 'shifted showing [their] Claymore[s]'.[49] In another song, likely to have been published during the occupation of Edinburgh (which fell on September 11, 1745), highland 'bravery' was mocked as the cowardly Jacobite occupants of the city hid prostrate and fearful beneath the thundering government guns high up on the walls of Edinburgh castle.[50]

Many of the most enduring 'Jacobite' songs were composed in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries and functioned primarily as vehicles for Scottish patriots to construct a romanticised national past and perpetuate many of the myths growing-up around the Stuart line.[51] Far less well known are the songs that were produced by Jacobite songwriters during the rebellion; hence scholars sometimes make comments to the effect that 'the rebellion fathered no

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[45] Details of the performance of this song, titled *A Song of Victory over the Rebels by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland,* can be found in an article by Friedlander, A. M. 'Two Patriotic Songs by Handel', *Musical Times* Vol. 66, No.987 (May, 1925), 416-419.

[46] In part this was attributable to the 1737 Licensing Act brought in by Walpole to prevent material that might cause civil unrest (or ridicule his administration) from reaching the stage. On the Licensing Act see, P. J. Crean, 'The Stage Licensing Act of 1737', *Modern Philology,* Vol. 35, No. 3 (1938), 239-255.

[47] Most notably the performance of Handel's 'The Conquering Hero', performed at St. Paul's Cathedral upon the Duke of Cumberland's return to London. W. A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p.170.

[48] For example, *Liberty Asserted* and *Plot or no Plot: Or, Jacobite Credulity,* both by the xenophobic playwright and critic John Dennis, were performed at Covent Garden in April 1746. See advertisements in the *General Advertiser,* April 22 and 24, 1746. *Liberty Asserted* was first published in London in 1704, whilst *Plot or no Plot,* appeared in *The Select Works of Mr. John Dennis,* 2 vols. (London: 1718), ii, pp.288-370.

[49] *A New Ballad, To the Tune of, Highland Laddie, Bonnie Laddie* (Edinburgh: 1745) NLS, blk. 667.

[50] The Jacobites took control of the city of Edinburgh but unsuccessfully laid siege to Edinburgh castle. Ballads such as *The Blockade of Edinburgh Castle; or, Captain Taylor in Livingston's Yard* (Edinburgh: 1745), celebrated what was at the time, a small government victory amidst successive failures and defeats. NLS s.302.b.2 (120).

[51] William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), esp. pp.1-4.

songs until long after it had failed'.[52] Little time was wasted after the capture of the Edinburgh city before copies of songs appeared attacking Hanoverian tyranny, evidence of how important contemporaries considered songs in disseminating political messages. A *New Ballad, To the Tune of The Bonny Black Ladie*, probably written between late September and early November of 1745, made an appeal to Britons to open their eyes and witness the 'Oppression and Cruelty' of 'George's usurpation'. The sexual potency of Charles Edward Stuart was, unsurprisingly, given a more positive spin in Jacobite media than in Hanoverian prints and songs. Here, the Pretender was rejuvenated and restored, rather than demonised.

Murray Pittock has argued that the highlander became a 'major innovation of Pro-Jacobite literature and propaganda', taking on the role in Scottish culture of 'the fecund renewer of a barren [post-Union] land'.[53] Whilst I make no claims beyond the characterisations found within songs dating to the '45, it was certainly the case that Jacobite songs claimed that the restoration of the true king would bring about economic prosperity and greater freedom. As the author of the *Black Ladie* put it, imagine how the 'nation shall flourish...taxations shall end, and our trade ...shall greatly revive', once 'goveren'd by our Ladie [Charles Stuart]'.[54]

In London the uprising was met with a spate of 'loyal songs' that centred upon the king, George II, as a symbol of national unity.[55] The most enduring of these, *God Save our Noble King,* first appeared, at least with pro-Hanoverian lyrics, in the *Thesaurus Musicus* in 1744.[56] Although no single song sheets survive, *God Save the King* (one of its numerous titles in the 1740s) would certainly have circulated as a ballad sheet on the streets of the capital; hence William Hogarth depicted a ballad singer selling *God Save the King* broadsides*,* in his 1750 painting, *The March to Finchley*.[57] Such was the success of this particular melody that, by 1748, the bells of Westminster were re-set to chime *God Save the King* rather than Henry Purcell's *Britons Strike Home.*[58] However, whilst there is no evidence to suggest that this particular English loyal song (or indeed any English loyal song) made its way up to Scotland during the time of the uprising, *God Save the King* was certainly audible across Edinburgh by the 1750s

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[52] Fiske*, Scotland in Music,* p.32.
[53] Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland,* p.43.
[54] *An Excellent New Ballad, To the Tune of, The Bonny Black ladie* (Edinburgh: 1745), NLS. RB.m.294 (11).
[55] Hannah Smith has demonstrated that George II was more popular amongst the English people than historians had previously imagined. Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2006), for example, pp.108-09.
[56] *Thesaurus Musicus. A Collection of two, three and four part songs* (London: J. Simpson, 1744). There is evidence to suggest that the verse, and possibly the melody, originated in Scotland as a toast to the deposed Stuarts. Percy Scholes, *God Save the Queen! The History and Romance of the World's First National Anthem* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954)*,* pp.308-311; One contemporary who thought the song was definitely of Scottish origin was Sir John Sinclair, who cited the words engraved on a glass at Fingask castle. John Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London* (London: B. McMillan, 1813), pp.12-13.
[57] The image is currently on display at the Foundling Museum in London.
[58] Scholes, *God Save the Queen*, p.20.

when the bells of the St. Giles carillon played 'God Save Great George the King', which, according to Sir William Burrell, was at that time 'very much in vogue'.[59]

Despite its endurance, *God Save King George* was just one amongst many loyal songs heard in the theatres and on the streets of London during the uprising. Aware of the many Jacobite songs in circulation, and alive to the popularity of Scottish melodies in general, patriotic English songwriters began to produce loyal songs to combat the rebels' propaganda. For example Humphrey Chanter, composer of the song *King George he is for England,* argued that the composition of loyal English songs, and more importantly their performance, was vital to the war effort. True Britons, he wrote, including Scots, should 'Express [their] loyalty, by the force of our lungs' to counter-act the cultural effects of the 'treasonable ballads' being produced by the rebels.[60] This sense that songs could be considered a weapon also applied to one of the most prominent Scottish instruments of the time, the highland bagpipes. As we have seen, highlanders were already associated, both in comical and in more menacing ways, with 'manly' sexual characteristics, and in the next section of this chapter we consider the ways that bagpipes came to function as a signifier for a broad sense of 'Scottish' sexual potency and martial prowess.

A barbarous instrument:

Technically there were several types of Scottish bagpipe. However, as Jeremy Barlow has noted in his analysis of Hogarth's paintings, English artists tended to imagine wildly inaccurate instruments that bore little resemblance to the pipes of one particular region, or even country.[61] In English culture this generic 'bagpipe' was already strongly associated with Scottishness by the early eighteenth century (hence, the crude engraving of Allan Ramsay in chapter one, fig. 7).[62] However, my primary purpose here is to establish some of the meanings associated with bagpipes and the playing of bagpipes within English culture.

In the eighteenth century musical instruments were regulated by conventions that prohibited, or at least problematised, access to certain instruments for one or other of the sexes. They were, therefore, gendered objects, regulated by gender conventions. The rules regulating 'domesticity', for example, played a vital role in 'feminising' certain musical activities, such as playing the harpsichord.[63] In addition, I would suggest that people of the eighteenth century were particularly sensitive to the nature of the physical contact required with the instrument.

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[59] *Sir William Burrell's Northern Tour, 1758* (ed.) by John G. Dunbar (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997), p.78.
[60] Humphrey Chanter, *King George he is for England* (London: 1745).
[61] Jeremy Barlow, *The Enraged Musician: Hogarth's Musical Imagery* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p.225-6.
[62] On the range of bagpipes and the decline during the eighteenth century of the English pipes, see Francis Collinson, *The Bagpipe* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).
[63] Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: C. U. P, 1988), esp. pp.28-50.

Hence, broadly speaking, any instrument that had to be gripped between the legs, or that had to be blown and might therefore produce a ruddy complexion and breathlessness, was deemed inappropriate for female players.

On a metaphorical level, people also categorised the sounds and tones of instruments as being either 'male' or 'female'. Any instrument producing a deep sound, such as a drum or a horn, was usually described as male, whilst airier, lighter sounding instruments (that today musicians would classify as being 'soprano') were often described as being female.[64] As a deep, loud instrument, the bagpipes were seen as thoroughly male in character and, because they required physical exertion, were considered suitable only for male performers.

During the eighteenth century, and almost certainly earlier, strong associations were forged in English culture between the 'Scottish' bagpipes and warfare. As mentioned, spaces were important in the gendering of instruments, and the battlefield was an exclusively male space. The bagpipes had indeed played a prominent role in clan warfare for many centuries prior to the 1700s. When George Buchanan wrote his *History of Scotland* in the sixteenth century, he remarked that the pipes served the same martial purposes amongst highland armies as trumpets did in most other nations.[65] Buchanan's *History* was widely read by the Georgians and, during the eighteenth century, the links between the bagpipes and the battlefield continued to appear in print. As one Georgian noted, the highlanders had 'warlike ideas annexed to the sounds of the bagpipes'.[66]

As a result, many Englishmen classified the pipes as a weapon. When James Ray wrote his account of the 1745-46 uprising, he listed the highlanders' arms, as 'muskets, pistols and backswords, and targets and Durks and bagpipes'. Furthermore, there seems to have been some sense amongst the English that the pipes could affect the highlanders' passions and rouse them into a martial fury. It was on this account that Ray remarked that 'bagpipes, that bloody and inhuman weapon' had 'caused the strong and antient city of Carlisle to surrender', and it was this association between the sound of the pipes and the raising of martial affections that induced Joseph Addison to remark upon the bagpipe's ability to 'animate Scottish generals'.[67]

This sense that the bagpipes were a puissant weapon of war is, to an extent, confirmed by the sentences passed by English judges upon Jacobite pipers. James Reid of Angus, a piper in the regiment of Ogilvy, was captured after the Jacobites surrendered Carlisle, and asked the

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[64] Addison or Steele wrote an extraordinary piece on the 'character and divisions' of 'several instruments', in which they likened their sounds to various male and female personalities. *The Tatler,* No. 153, March 30, 1710. The author likened the drone of the bagpipes to the 'dull, heavy, tedious storytellers'; the sort of men who are 'the load and burden of conversations'. Then, tongue firmly in cheek, he recalled that bagpipes were predominantly found 'in the Northern parts of this Island'.

[65] George Buchanan, *Buchanan's History of Scotland, in Twenty Books,* 2 vols. (London: J. Bettenham, 1722; orig. 1582), i, p.29.

[66] John Brown, *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power, the Progressions, Separations, and Corruptions, of Poetry and Music* (London: 1763), p.58; Also, Thomas Sheridan, *British Education* (Dublin: 1756), p.256.

[67] James Ray, *The Acts of the Rebels Written by an Egyptian. Being an abstract of the journal of Mr. James Ray* (London: c.1746), p.12; Addison's comments were used by Samuel Johnson for his definition of 'bagpipe' in *A Dictionary of the English Language,* 2 vols. (London: 1755) i.

English courts for leniency on account of his status as a lowly musician. Their response, however, was that, 'no regiment marched without musical instruments such as drums and trumpets and the like; and a Highland regiment never marched without a piper'. 'The bagpipe' the judge informed him, was therefore 'in the eye of the law, an instrument of war', and so the unfortunate James Reid was taken to York and hanged.[68]

Had Reid been born several decades later, however, his 'profession' might well have been judged less harshly. For beyond the 1760s, when the manpower of the highlands was successfully being yoked to the British imperial project, the 'power' of the pipes to inspire bravery in highland soldiers became a source of wondrous anecdotes, rather than fear.[69] A story, in wide circulation by the end of the 1760s, told how, at the defence of Quebec in 1760, a British general named Murray had ordered the pipers not to play. His decision supposedly resulted in the highland regiments being beaten back, almost to the point of defeat. But then, at the last moment, the order was reversed, and the pipers were ordered to 'play a favourite *Cruinneachadh'*. At the sound of this ancient call to form rank, the highlanders, who were up until that moment broken, instinctively stopped, returned 'and formed with great alacrity'.[70] Although possibly fictitious, the story is nevertheless a reminder that, as we saw in chapter two, 'national' music was said to have extraordinary powers over the 'passions', including the martial spirits, of inhabitants from that particular country.

The pipes' association with 'manly' activities, and the general English notions of highland virility (which we have seen in songs such as *The Highland Ladie*) allowed the bagpipes to function as a phallic metaphor within English culture. We might also say that the meaning of instruments could, perhaps, be inscribed in their shape. Although it is a stretch to argue that there is something intrinsically phallic about the drones or chanter of a bagpipe, the fact that the instrument was frequently abbreviated within the English language to 'the pipes' perhaps helped to forge some sense of the bagpipe as a 'male' instrument.

Already, by the 1730s, whenever the bagpipes appeared in English songs they were associated with socially base activities and characters. Even if they were not carried or played by a highlander, they were portrayed as the instruments of cheats and whoremongers. For example, in *The Ballad of Blowzabella,* a piper, who is not identified as Scottish, accompanies a prostitute around Kirkham Fair, as she plies her trade. The pipes are used within the song as a

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[68] 'James Reid, No.2800' in *The Prisoners of the '45,* (ed.) by Sir Bruce Gordon Seton and Jean Gordon Arnot, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable Ltd, 1928), iii, pp.266-67; See, *The Prisoners of the '45,* 'James Campbell, piper', ii, pp.94-95; 'Robert Bruce, drummer', ii, pp.56-57; 'John Ballantine, piper', ii, pp.22-23; 'John Auld, drummer', ii, pp.16-17; 'Nicholas Carr, piper', ii, pp.102-3. It is perhaps worth noting that Reid was by far the eldest musician tried. Perhaps youth saved his fellow musicians.

[69] On the absorption of the highland clans into the British army, see, Hew Strachan, 'Scotland's Military Identity' *The Scottish Historical Review,* Vol. 85, No. 220 (October, 2006), 315-32, esp. pp.322-25.

[70] The story is retold in Roderick D. Cannon, *The Highland Bagpipe and its Music* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishing, 1988), p.120.

sexual metaphor, but the fact that they are carried by a character who refuses to pay his bills, associates the instruments with deviant and licentious behaviour.[71]

For many urbane Englishmen the bagpipes were the instruments of 'country places', and this association with the bucolic gained considerable ground during the 1750s when a revitalisation of the pastoral across Europe saw images and figurines of bagpipe playing shepherds, typically dressed in the latest London fashions, become highly commercial throughout England.[72] As part of a broad cultural sanitisation of the 'highlands', the bucolic idealism of the pipes as pastoral instruments began to influence the way highlanders (and perhaps Scots in general) were portrayed to the English public. As a result, it was not unusual by the 1760s, to see highland warriors depicted on the English stage, wearing the latest English fashions. Hence, in a 1760 production of *Macbeth* at Covent Garden, the eleventh-century Thane of Glamis and Cawdor walked about on the stage carrying a claymore and targe (shield), whilst wearing a fashionable cocked hat, a waistcoat, breeches and buckled shoes (fig. 21).

Figure 21: *Scene from 'Macbeth' Performed at Covent Garden* (London: c.1760), by artist unknown. Oil painting on board, 16.5 x 21.6cm, courtesy of the Victoria and Albert collection, S.503-2006. Rather than accurate Scottish clothing, the characters are seen wearing cocked (tricorn) hats, waistcoats and breeches.

As part of this trend the characters of Jockey and Jenny were adapted for the English stage by Thomas Arne, who, in collaboration with Isaac Bickerstaff, produced a play called *Thomas and Sally* (1761). The play spawned a series of 'Jockey and Jenny' prints in the 1770s and 1780s that demonstrate the extent to which these 'Scottish' characters were now plucked

[71] 'Blowzabella', in *The Aviary* (London: J. Mechell, 1745), pp.75-76.
[72] Chambers, *Cyclopaedia,* see the entry for 'bagpipes'.

from the songs of the streets and distanced from their former bawdy incarnations. In one print (fig. 22), based upon several verses from Arne's popular overture, Jenny is shown sitting at her spinning wheel, rejecting the advances of a lecherous parson whilst waiting for her love Jockey, to return home from sea. There is nothing in the clothing or scenery to suggest anything Scottish, and instead, the scene is a wholly idealised imagining of rural life and female fidelity.

Figure 22: *Jockey and Jenny* (London: c.1780). Hand-coloured mezzotint, 36 x 26cm, Lewis Walpole Library collection, Yale. Here, the theme of female fidelity, prominent in Jockey and Jenny songs from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, has returned. In this scene, Jenny rejects the parson's advances and waits for Jockey, to whom she is engaged, to return home from sea. A church, symbolic of her promise, can be seen in the background.

Nevertheless, the Scottish identity of the characters remained strong in the English imagination. Hence, the series of prints were always titled 'Jockey and Jenny', and never 'Thomas and Sally'. In addition, Arne acknowledged the Scottish identity of his characters by working several Scottish melodies into his score. He reworked the melody most frequently used in the Jockey and Jenny ballads, *The Wind Hath Blown my Plad Away,* to produce an overture for the play, and, in the early-to-mid 1760s, this Scottish melody quickly became a favourite of crowds at some of London's pleasure gardens.[73] The words at the bottom of the Jockey and Jenny print are taken from, and are to be sung 'to the tune of', Arne's 'Scotch air'.

[73] See, for example, *The Scotch Air, Sung by Mr. Tenducci and Miss Brent at Vauxhall and Ranelagh* (London: 1765).

The popularity of the play, and the success of Arne's score, suggest that Scottish song culture maintained its popularity during the 1760s, even amidst the aspersive politicking of John Wilkes. Whilst it is not difficult to see how alternative English imaginings of Scottishness might have got lost beneath the considerable 'noise' generated by Wilkes and his followers, it is worth pointing out that multiple 'versions' of the characters and of 'Scottishness' coexisted simultaneously in English culture. In Arne's songs we are presented with rustic, albeit rather Anglicised, but nevertheless, morally virtuous Scots. After all, 'Scotland' was not a static specimen that the English could scrutinise under the microscope, 'Scottishness' was something never fully realised within English culture and had to be constantly re-examined and attained. The taste for the pastoral influenced the Englishman's conception of 'Scots', just as surely, though not as prominently, as the rise to power of a Scottish Prime Minister in 1762.

'England's genius droops his wing':

Historians have good reason to emphasise the anti-Scottish sentiments within English culture of the early 1760s.[74] Indeed, the prints, songs and other publications produced by John Wilkes and his followers must rank as amongst the most Scotophobic media produced in eighteenth-century England. Yet, whilst the political meanings of Wilkite media have been thoroughly picked over, and numerous psychoanalytical readings have drawn out an English fixation with Scots 'penetrating' the English body politic, no attention has yet been paid to the prominence of music and musical activities in many of the prints, songs and poems produced by Wilkes and his supporters.[75] This aspect of the literature has perhaps been overlooked because, culturally speaking, it is assumed that across the eighteenth century the English dominated the Scots. However, my intention here is to demonstrate, not only that music was a notable feature of this literature, but also that the musical references were deliberately calculated to play upon English fears of Scottish musical, cultural dominance.

Wilkes, and those who shared his anxieties, combined and amplified a range of meanings and signifiers associated with 'Scottishness' that had developed, as we have seen, within English and Scottish song cultures since the late seventeenth century. Scotophobic prints, poems, songs and prose drew directly upon the established emblematic and allegorical

[74] For example, in Paul Langford's estimation English fears of a 'swarm of Scotsmen' moving south to take English jobs and make off with English coin made the early 1760s an era of 'startling' English 'prejudices'. Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727-1783,* 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998; orig. 1989), pp.327-329.

[75] For analysis of Wilkite media and gender, see Wilson, *The Sense of the People,* pp.212-227; On English fears of 'penetration', see, Colley, *Britons,* p. 121; More recently, in her reading of Tobias Smollett's *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), Juliet Shields has suggested an analogy between 'Scottishness' and sodomites, both of whom were regarded by the English as 'outsiders', and both of whom threatened to penetrate the English body politic. Juliet Shields, 'Smollett's Scots and Sodomites: British Masculinity in *Roderick Random*', *Eighteenth-Century: Theory and Interpretation,* Vol.46, No.2 (June, 2005), 175-188; The article has recently been revised and reprinted as 'British Masculinity and Scottish Self Control' in Shields' *Sentimental Literature and Anglo-Scottish Identity, 1745-1820* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2010), pp.55-82.

meanings of items and practices such as the bagpipes, highland dress, and even Scottish dancing, in order to present Scots as dangerous, sexual deviants. In satire and polemics, and most notably in the *North Briton* (Wilkes's radical, anti-government newspaper, 1762-1771), Wilkes and those who shared his fears of Scottish ascendency, cast the Scots as a people whose culture, and whose very nature, set them apart from the English. During the ministry of John Stuart, Earl of Bute (1762-63), print after print ran off the presses to fuel rumours of an alleged relationship between Bute and Princess Augusta, the Dowager Princess of Wales (1719-1772). What is perhaps most striking about these prints is that the majority depict Bute engaged in some form of musical activity. He appears, variously, as a dancing master, a bagpiper, and as a performer of Scottish songs, and in all such instances his character is depicted alongside female admirers, enraptured by his musical performances.

The Masquerade (1763), for example, a song described as being written 'in the Scotch taste' (a reference to the on-going vogue for Scottish musical culture in print), relates the story of a Scottish clansman named John O'Boot (a recurring soubriquet for Lord Bute), who travels south to secure for himself 'a suit' (a love match). He soon succeeds in attracting the attention of 'a woman of renown' (George III's mother), whom he instantly impresses with his 'pipe' and 'music making' abilities.[76]

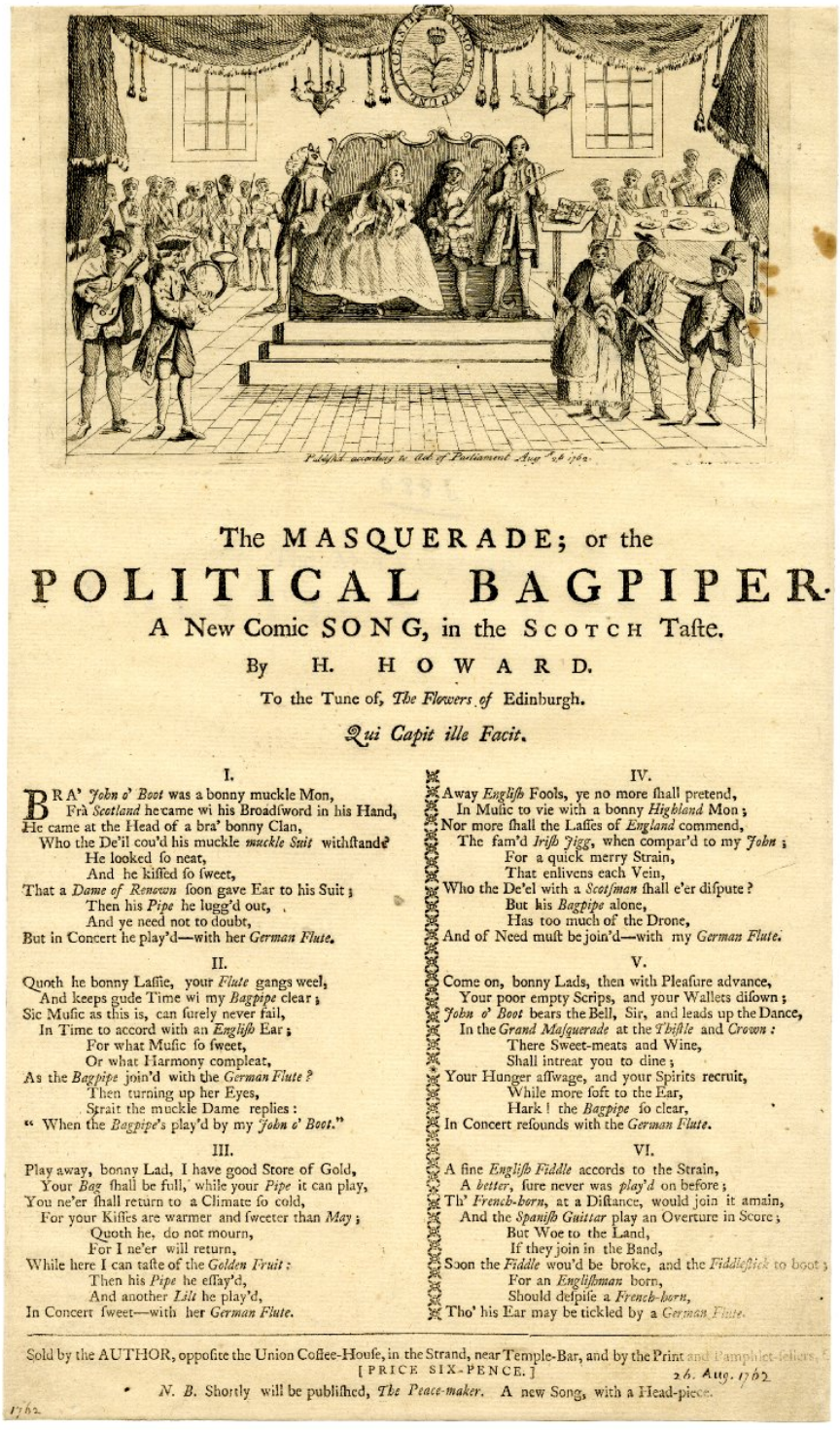
Bra' John o' Boot was a bonny muckle Mon,
Fra' Scotland he came wi his Broadsword in his hand,
Who the De'il cou'd his muckle muckle suit withstand?
He looked so neat,
And he kissed so sweet,
That a Dame of Renown soon gave Ear to his suit;
Then his pipe he lugg'd out,
And ye need not to doubt,
But in concert he play'd – with her German Flute.

Here, direct parallels are being drawn between Bute and Charles Edward Stuart, both of whom came south from Scotland with 'sword' in hand, and both of whom were cast as representing a threat to (English) female virtue. Throughout the song, the Englishman's sexual prowess is disparagingly contrasted against the hyper-masculinity of Lord Bute. In an extension of the 'music making' metaphor the qualities that set Scottish music apart and contributed to its popularity in England, namely, the liveliness and vivacity of the rhythms, are used to contrast English and Scottish lovemaking: 'Away English fools, ye no more shall pretend, in Music to vie with a Bonny Highland Mon', for the 'Lasses of England' are more 'pleased' by the 'quick

[76] The German flute was a commonly used term for the transverse flute in eighteenth-century Britain. But the intention here is to make obvious to the reader that this 'woman of renown' is the King's mother.

merry Strain, that enlivens each Vein', of Scottish music making, than the weak sound of an 'English fiddle'. As well as the associations with Charles Stuart, further parallels can be drawn between these songs and the *Highland laddie,* who, as we have seen, featured in Scottish songs mocking the effeminacy of English fops during the 1730s. Here, however, the challenge is widened and aimed not solely at fops (who were disparaged for their perceived effeminacy in English culture too), but at Englishmen, and English song culture, in general.

The Masquerade was published, as was common at the time, alongside an accompanying print sub-titled *A Political Bagpiper* (fig. 23). Here we see Lord Bute playing his bagpipes beside the dowager princess, whilst George III, the only Englishman present, stands to the side of throne playing the (second) fiddle to the amorous Scotsman.



The MASQUERADE; or the

POLITICAL BAGPIPER.

A New Comic SONG, in the SCOTCH Taſte.

By H. HOWARD.

To the Tune of, *The Flowers of* Edinburgh.

Qui Capit ille Facit.

I.

BRA' *John o' Boot* was a bonny muckle Mon,
Frà *Scotland* he came wi his Broadſword in his Hand,
He came at the Head of a bra' bonny Clan,
Who the De'il cou'd his muckle *muckle Suit* withſtand?
He looked ſo neat,
And he kiſſed ſo ſweet,
That a *Dame of Renown* ſoon gave Ear to his Suit;
Then his *Pipe* he lugg'd out,
And ye need not to doubt,
But in Concert he play'd—with her *German Flute.*

II.

Quoth he bonny Laſſie, your *Flute* gangs weel,
And keeps gude Time wi my *Bagpipe* clear;
Sic Muſic as this is, can ſurely never fail,
In Time to accord with an *Engliſh* Ear;
For what Muſic ſo ſweet,
Or what Harmony compleat,
As the *Bagpipe* join'd with the *German Flute?*
Then turning up her Eyes,
Strait the muckle Dame replies:
" When the *Bagpipe's* play'd by my *John o' Boot.*"

III.

Play away, bonny Lad, I have good Store of Gold,
Your *Bag* ſhall be full, while your *Pipe* it can play,
You ne'er ſhall return to a Climate ſo cold,
For your Kiſſes are warmer and ſweeter than *May*;
Quoth he, do not mourn,
For I ne'er will return,
While here I can taſte of the *Golden Fruit:*
Then his *Pipe* he eſſay'd,
And another *Lilt* he play'd,
In Concert ſweet—with her *German Flute.*

IV.

Away *Engliſh* Fools, ye no more ſhall pretend,
In Muſic to vie with a bonny *Highland* Mon;
Nor more ſhall the Laſſes of *England* commend,
The fam'd *Iriſh Jigg*, when compar'd to my *John*;
For a quick merry Strain,
That enlivens each Vein,
Who the De'el with a *Scotſman* ſhall e'er diſpute?
But his *Bagpipe* alone,
Has too much of the Drone,
And of Need muſt be join'd—with my *German Flute.*

V.

Come on, bonny Lads, then with Pleaſure advance,
Your poor empty Scrips, and your Wallets diſown;
John o' Boot bears the Bell, Sir, and leads up the Dance,
In the *Grand Maſquerade* at the *Thiſtle* and *Crown:*
There Sweet-meats and Wine,
Shall intreat you to dine;
Your Hunger aſſwage, and your Spirits recruit,
While more ſoft to the Ear,
Hark! the *Bagpipe* ſo clear,
In Concert reſounds with the *German Flute.*

VI.

A fine *Engliſh Fiddle* accords to the Strain,
A *better*, ſure never was *play'd* on before;
Th' *French-born*, at a Diſtance, would join it amain,
And the *Spaniſh Guittar* play an Overture in Score;
But Woe to the Land,
If they join in the Band,
Soon the *Fiddle* wou'd be broke, and the *Fiddleſtick* to boot;
For an *Engliſhman* born,
Should deſpiſe a *French-horn,*
Tho' his Ear may be tickled by a *German Flute.*

Sold by the AUTHOR, oppoſite the Union Coffee-Houſe, in the Strand, near Temple-Bar, and by the Print and Pamphlet-ſellers, &c.
[PRICE SIX-PENCE.] 26. Aug. 1762.

N. B. Shortly will be publiſhed, *The Peace-maker.* A new Song, with a Head-piece.

1762.

Figure 23: *The Masquerade; Or the Political Bagpiper. Observations on the Times,* attributed to Henry Howard, (London: 1762). Broadside ballad, 36.8 x 21.5 cm, Courtesy of the British Museum.

Although the playing of the bagpipes provided a metaphorical means to stress Bute's sexual powers, he was just as often shown carrying out his seductions to other forms of Scottish musical entertainment. As we saw in chapter one, Scottish dancing was extremely popular on the English stage throughout the twenties and thirties. This popularity continued in the

following decades off the London stage. Hence, Scottish steps featured in some of the more upmarket dancing manuals alongside fashionable French 'gavottes' and the ever-popular 'country' dances.[77] In a society that placed great value upon the art of moving and presenting oneself gracefully, dance functioned as a form of performance.[78] It was also, within elite circles at least, strictly governed by gender conventions that were designed to ensure respectability.[79] Whilst effeminate French dancing masters had been targeted by English satirists for some time, Wilkes and his supporters now suggested a new threat - Scottish hyper-masculinity.[80] Here the danger was not that dainty French dance steps and overly ornate continental music would corrupt the Englishman's manly spirit, but instead that Scottish dancing, accompanied by vigorous, 'rude' sounds would overwhelm the sensibilities of otherwise virtuous English women.

The threat was that English women might give way to impulse, and descend into 'rudeness' and this warning is clearly seen in *The Northern Dancing Master* (1762) (fig. 24), which depicted a variety of Scottish musicians entertaining a captivated audience of English women. One woman is seen saying, 'I wish I had learnd this instead of Italian, oh ye sweet bagpipes', whilst another remarks on her eagerness to 'handle my lords [sic] bagpipe'. The reference to Italian music served a specific purpose. It made a direct link with another musical culture that, since at least 1705 and the introduction of the first Italian opera into England, had been attacked by English patriots as a threat to native music and as a subversive force menacing English masculinity.[81]

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[77] The most frequently published type of dance was the 'country dance', popularised in publications from the late seventeenth century. Henry Playford's *The Dancing Master; Or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances, With Tunes for Each Dance in the Treble* had reached its seventeenth edition by 1721; See also, *The Complete Country Dancing Master; Being A Collection of all the Celebrated Country Dances now in Vogue, Performed at Court and at the Theatres* (London: J. Walsh, c.1740). The second most popular seem to have been French Gavottes, Rigadoons, and Galliards, presumably adapted from the styles at the court of Louis XIV. During the 1720s and 1730s several French books on the art of dancing were translated into English. Pierre Rameau, *The Dancing Master; Or, the Art of Dancing Explained* (London: J. Brotherton, 1728); Kellom Tomlinson's (dates unknown), publications contained guides, complete with twenty or thirty copper plate engravings and accompanying musical scores, to a range of English country dance steps, Scottish dances and the fashionable French styles. Tomlinson, *The Art of Dancing Explained by Reading and Figures* (London: 1735).

[78] Some sense of the emphasis placed upon refined movements required and the emphasis placed upon avoiding any errors that might be noticed by 'ev'r stander-by' can be found in Soame Jenyns, *The Art of Dancing, a Poem* (London: 1729), p.32; William Hogarth also comments on the 'beauty' and the 'mystique', of the lines 'govern'd by the principles of intricacy' within civilised dances – which he compares to the 'wild skipping, jumping...and distorted gestures' of dance by 'barbarians'. Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty: Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (London: J. Reeves, 1753), p.135-137, 147-151.

[79] Jenyns hints at these conventions in a canto dedicated to choosing one's female partner. 'Canto III', *The Art of Dancing,* p.37-55, esp. 41-45.

[80] See for example, 'The Levee', the second painting in William Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress* (1733), held at the John Soane Museum in London.

[81] On Thomas Clayton and the first Italian opera see, Thomas McGeary, 'Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England', *Philological Quarterly,* Vol. 77, No. 2 (1998), 171-185; On reactions to the Italian opera see, A. E. Betz, 'The Operatic Criticism of the "Tatler" and "Spectator"', *The Musical Quarterly,* Vol. 1, No. 3, (1945), 318-330; On the effeminate Italian opera, particularly the

Figure 24: 'The Northern Dancing Master', engraving from *The British antidote to Caledonian Poison,* 2 vols. (London: 1763).

The fear was that the 'powerful' and affecting sounds of Scottish song would inevitably lead to the decline of English song culture. Or, as one Wilkite poem put it:

> Hail Scotland, hail, to thee belong
> All pow'rs, but most the pow'rs of Song;
> Whether the rude unpolished Erse [Gaelic]
> Stalk in the buckram prose or verse,
> Or bonny Ramsay please thee mo,
> Who sang sae sweetly aw his woe.
> ...The happy Lairds shall laugh and sing,
> When England's Genius droops his wing.[82]

Indeed, the illogical fear that Scotland's success inevitably meant England's demise lay at the heart of many anti-government prints and songs. Hence, one ballad began with the lines, 'Of freedom no longer let Englishmen boast...In vain you have conquer'd my brave Hearts of Oak, Your Lawrels, your Conquests, are [now] all but a joke', whilst another warned that when, 'Scotch men flourish, Englishmen decline, And all our glories fade, which once did shine'.[83] Efforts were even made to imply Bute's complicity in the triumph of Scottish song. So, in the

castrati, as a threat to English masculinity, see, Todd S. Gilman, 'The Italian [Castrato] in London', in *The Work of Opera,* pp.49-69.

[82] *The British Antidote to Caledonian Poison,* 5th edition, 2 vols. (London: 1763), i, pp.5-6.

[83] *The Scotch Yoke; Or, English Resentment, A New Song* (London: 1763), collection of the British Museum; 'The Devil to Pay' in *The Butiad, or Political Register* (London: 1763), pp.3-5.

print *The Blessings of P[eace], and a Scotch Excise,* Bute's character remarks, 'Wee'l ha no other music but bagpipes and Scotch Tunes'.[84]

Given its popularity and links with 'old' England, it is perhaps not surprising to find that references to the 'roast beef' are not infrequent in the Scotophobic media of this period.[85] In the print *The Favorite Boot* (fig. 25) English fears of Scottish cultural dominance are manifest in the depiction of an English violinist (once again, George III) singing 'No more the Roast Beef of old England, no more Old English Roast Beef', whilst trapped in the heel of a giant boot by a Scottish piper.

Figure 25: 'The Favorite Boot; Or, Who'll Take a Peep', engraving from *The British antidote to Caledonian Poison,* 2 vols. (London: 1763).

Explaining why music featured so prominently in prints of the 1760s is not difficult when it is realised that 'Scottishness' was strongly bound up with music in the English imagination. In prints such as these, Scottish musical culture provided a useful theme for organising and bringing aspects of Scottishness together. As a cultural sign with multiple associations, the 'bagpipes' could be used to represent both Scottish male sexual potency and the Scot's warlike spirit. By juxtaposing the bagpipe, and all that it had come to signify, with the 'roast beef', the pipes could be used to imply a threat to English culture and English

[84] *The Blessings of P[eace], and a Scotch Excise* (London: 1763), p.28. The song is set to the tune of the *Bonny Broom,* popularised in England by Allan Ramsay.
[85] In other songs the same threats are implied when the *Roast Beef* is described as being sung to a new Scottish tune. See for example, *England's Scotch Friend; a New Song by Sawney McStuart* (London: 1763), collection of the BM.

masculinity. However, English fears of cultural domination cannot be explained merely by the continued popularity of Scottish song publications. Instead we must turn to a number of significant shifts in thinking about musical cultures, past and present that occurred during the 1750s. As we shall see, these changes provided Englishmen and Scots with a fresh perspective on their respective song cultures. As a result, Scottish songs began to be regarded as more 'ancient' and more 'national' in pedigree than 'old' English songs. And it is these shifts, and the marked rise in status for Scottish songs that they generated, that are the primary focus of chapter four.

Chapter four: 'Song histories' and the problem with English colonialism, 1750-1800

In 1975 Michael Hechter argued that, from the Union of the Crowns (1603) onwards, Scotland had been a victim of English colonial expansion.[1] In the years that followed, the notion that Scotland had been reduced from a self-governed and economically independent nation to part of a 'Celtic fringe' in England's 'British' empire, influenced numerous historians.[2] Recently, however, several revisionist studies have raised questions about the orthodoxy. For example, Hechter's notion of Scotland as a London-controlled, economically retarded, 'periphery' seems highly implausible in light of David McCrone's analysis of eighteenth-century Britain as 'a quintessentially free market economy' in which Scotland become the 'first industrialised nation'.[3] Furthermore, studies of Scottish success within the Union, such as the proportionately large numbers of successful Scottish medical practitioners towards the end of the century, problematises the whole notion of Scottish subjugation and 'secondary status'.[4]

However, whilst the case for Scotland's economic exploitation appears increasingly untenable, one area of Hechter's thesis remains highly influential. Hechter claimed that 'a defining characteristic of colonial expansion, is that the centre must disparage the indigenous culture of the peripheral groups'.[5] In other words, Hechter argued that efforts to ridicule and deprecate Scottish cultures were vital to the English 'colonial' project. This idea continues to shape thinking on Scottish cultural history to the present day. Murray Pittock, for example, has argued that, after the defeat at Culloden (1746) and the possibility of an independent political Scottish nation had been irrecoverably lost, 'her [Scotland's] cultural identity began to be absorbed'.[6] In the post-colonial analysis of Craig Beveridge, Ronald Turnbull and Gavin Miller, a strategy of cultural 'inferiorism', whereby Scotland is portrayed as a 'dark and backwards corner' in which 'the native comes to internalise the message that local customs are inferior to the culture of the coloniser', was (and they argue, still is) used to establish English 'external control' over Scotland.[7] And according to Katie Trumpener, in the late eighteenth and early

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[1] Hechter, *Internal Colonialism* (1975).

[2] The idea gained considerable ground amongst left-wing, particularly Marxist historians. See, for example, J. D. Young, *The Rousing of the Scottish Working Class* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979); K. Burgess, 'Scotland and the First British Empire 1707-1770s: The Confirmation of Client Status', in *Scottish Capitalism* (ed.) by A. Dickson, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980); Murray Pittock described Hecter's thesis as 'powerful if occasionally historically flawed'. See, Pittock's, *Scottish Nationality,* p.12.

[3] David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.64.

[4] Lawrence Brockliss, 'The Professions and National Identities', in *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles c.1750-c.1850,* (ed.) by L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Scotland's economic success and emergence as a centre of 'enlightenment', has led Neil Davidson to pose the question, 'who colonised who?'. See his *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), pp.90-111.

[5] Hechter, *Internal Colonialism.* p. 64.

[6] Pittock, *The Invention of Scotlan*d, p.72.

[7] Craig Beveridge and Ronald Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture: Inferiorism and Intellectuals* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), pp.1, 5, 30; Gavin Miller, '"Persuade without convincing...represent without

nineteenth centuries, an anti-Enlightenment, 'traditionalist' movement took place amongst Scotland's writers (particularly novelists) due to the perceived threat of cultural extinction in the face of aggressive Anglicising forces.[8]

At the heart of these claims is a sense that 'English' standards, which drew heavily upon the closely linked ideas of 'civility' and 'progress', functioned to deprecate native, Scottish culture. For the majority of Englishmen, the Scottish language and Scottish culture more broadly indicated 'rudeness and provincialism'.[9] The result, as several studies have concluded, was that Scotland's men of letters sought to distance themselves from their country's embarrassingly primitive, Gaelic culture.[10] Indeed, from the eighteenth century to the present day, Scots have been, as a result, 'uneasy and insecure' about assigning their native culture, particularly their language, any status.[11]

Both 'civility' and 'progress' are fairly complex concepts, but broadly civility was an achieved state and progress the process by which civility was attained. Civility was understood to mean freedom from a state of barbarity; it was an end state and the result of mankind's advancement over time.[12] Hence, when historians of the second half of the eighteenth century came to write their accounts of the past, the trajectory of their narratives was typically based upon the assumption that, over time, societies improved.[13] Despite the warnings of writers on the lookout for signs of decay, and despite the efforts of those who continued to privilege the 'ancients' above the 'moderns', optimism about mankind's progress continued to underpin the world view of many eighteenth-century thinkers.[14] David Hume (1711-1776), for example, looked upon the 'middle ages' - by which he meant pre-sixteenth-century Europe - with

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reasoning": The Inferiorist Mythology of the Scots Language', in *Scotland in Theory: Reflections on Culture and Literature,* (ed.) by Eleanor Bell and Gavin Miller (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004).

[8] Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, pp.37-160.

[9] Nenadic, *Scots in London*, p.21.

[10] Colin Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland', *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 109, No. 434 (Nov. 1994), 1197-1214, esp. p.1212; Cairns Craig, *Out of History: Narrative Paradigms in Scottish and English Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996).

[11] Billy Kay, *Scots: The Mither Tongue* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1986), p.173.

[12] When Johnson published his dictionary in 1755-56 the word 'civilisation' was used in legal contexts only. He defined the verb to 'Civilize' as 'to reclaim from savageness and brutality; to instruct in the arts of regular life'. Notice how Johnson presents contemporary society as 'regular' life governed by sets of refined rules (that is, arts). 'Civility', as a noun, is defined as the 'state of being civilised', of 'freedom from barbarity'. Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language,* 2 vols. (London: 1755-56), i.

[13] On the prevailing sense of optimism see David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990); Also, Roy Porter, who described progress as 'the opium of enlightenment' in his *Enlightenment*, pp.424-445; For overviews of the number of histories written during this period see David Allen, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century: Union and Enlightenment* (Harlow and London: Pearson, 2002), pp.142-150; Also, Murray Pittock, 'Historiography', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment,* (ed.) by Alexander Broadie (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2003), pp.259-279.

[14] On those who were less optimistic and favoured the 'ancients' over the 'moderns', see 'Part II: History' in Joseph Levine's, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991).

scornful contempt, regarding it as little more than an era of ignorance and barbarity.[15] Contemporaneously, Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), William Robertson (1721-1793) and Adam Smith (c.1723-1790) devised a broad historical model that charted the progress of human society through a sequence of stages, which emerged at the high point of accomplishment and civility, exemplified by Hanoverian Britain.[16] This 'stadialism' focused upon financial and material improvements in order to categorise human history into four periods that were delineated by their modes of subsistence - the hunter-gatherer, the pastoral, the agricultural and the commercial.[17] Hence Britain, with its 'highly advanced' state of 'commerce', and generous patronage of the refined 'arts', epitomised human progress at the leading edge.[18] Indeed, such was the extent to which progress underscored Scottish history writing that, as Colin Kidd has argued, Scotland's literati, more than their English counterparts, were the key architects in constructing British, Whig history.[19]

The historiographical orthodoxy therefore contends that English cultural standards created, particularly amongst Scotland's men of letters, a broad 'contempt of Scottish cultures past'.[20] However, in this chapter, I challenge such an assumption. To do this I offer an analysis of the arguments that took place within the many 'song histories' – by which I mean historical accounts of the development, progress and state of songs within England and Scotland - written in 'that historical age' (as David Hume put it), between 1750 and 1800. Within these histories, writers set out to uncover their respective nation's musical past, and to do so they tracked the progress of their song cultures from the earliest savage origins to the present refined state. Along the way they made judgements about song cultures past and present, and compared the respective merits or shortcomings of one nation's culture to another. These histories therefore provide us with access to eighteenth-century thinking on songs couched within a national framework. But crucially they also reveal that a sense of 'inferiorism' about a relative lack of progress on the road to civility is notably missing from most Scottish writings about songs after c.1750. Instead, these histories reveal that the criteria for assessing the qualities of music shifted in the second half of the century, and, as a result of this shift, songs came to be judged less by standards of refinement and more by their abilities to move the listener. This sense of 'musical

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[15] On Hume's *History of England* (1754-1762) as a history of civilisation, and for an overview of the literature on Hume as a historian, see, 'Chapter X: David Hume' in Laird Okie's, *Augustan Historical Writing: Histories of England in the English Enlightenment* (Lanham, Maryland and London: University Press of America, 1991), pp.195-208; Also, Okie's, 'Ideology and Partiality in David Hume's *History of England', Hume Studies,* Vol. 11, Issue 1, (April, 1985), 1-32, esp. pp.5-6.

[16] John Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion,* 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-2005), ii, pp.332-45, also iii, pp.387-92, 402-3; Roy Porter has indicated that a desire to forge a natural, rather than a sacred, history underscored much enlightenment investigation beyond the 1750s. Porter, *Enlightenment*, pp.230-239.

[17] Adam Smith first laid out this 'Four Stage Theory of Development' in a lecture given in 1762. Adam Smith, *Lectures on Jurisprudence,* (ed.) by R. L. Meek, D. D. Raphael and P. G. Stein (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp.14-16, 230-231.

[18] Smith*, Lectures on Jurisprudence,* pp.230-31.

[19] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c.1830* (Cambridge: C. U. P, 1993), p.215.

[20] Pittock, *Scottish Nationality* (2001), p.76; Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity', pp.1212-13.

expression' provided Scottish writers of song histories, and commentators on Scottish songs in general, with a firm platform from which to argue the qualities of their native sound.

Furthermore, these expressive qualities became closely associated with a positive re-evaluation of 'the primitive' that emerged during this period following the influences of, most notably, the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Because of the links that would be forged between musical 'expression' and the 'savage state', Scots came to regard their song culture as not only superior in sound, but also more 'ancient' than that of their English neighbours. The combination of these shifts meant that the notions of civility and progress impact very little upon Scottish thinking about songs.

Instead of embarrassingly inferior, many Scots came to regard their song culture as inherently *superior* to that of the English. In fact, so strong was Scottish confidence about their native culture that English scholars soon developed acute anxieties over the relatively 'unexpressive' and lower quality of their own songs. To defend their song culture, the English fell back upon notions of music as 'art': that is, of cultural expressions governed and regulated by rules of refinement established and improved over centuries. Ultimately, English arguments about song culture as an 'art' gained little traction, and the extent of English concerns is revealed by the work of the Englishman Dr. John Brown (1715-1766). Brown posited a highly influential theory to explain why England lacked a discernible song culture of its own, or of comparable quality to that of the Scots, and his conclusion, which many Scottish writers noted, was that England, unlike Scotland, was little more than a cultural 'colony'.

My argument develops in three stages. First I evidence a dramatic shift in the way songs were being conceptualised and judged that took place around the middle of the century. To demonstrate this, I explore the writings of Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762) dating to the 1740s, in which Scottish song is understood within the existing framework of progress and refinement. I then contrast this with writings from beyond c.1760 in which emphasis was now clearly placed upon expression and in which the 'unrefined' sound of Scottish song was now perceived to be at the heart of the culture's enduring popularity. In the second part of this chapter I demonstrate how this shift in thinking owed much to the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1788) and Charles Avison (c.1709-1770). Then, finally, I explore how this shift allowed Scots to judge their song culture superior to that of the English, and I outline how, by the 1760s, it was the English, not the Scots, who felt themselves to be an inferior 'colony'.

The problem with David Riccio:

The shift in thinking about musical 'art' can be highlighted by examining a controversy that took place across a broad range of literature during the second half of the eighteenth century. This debate, allows us to trace the overturning of the assumption that sixteenth-century 'Renaissance' Italy was the regenerator of musical 'art'. The critical figure in these debates was David Riccio (c.1533-1566), the sixteenth-century Italian courtier and private secretary to Mary, Queen of Scots.[21] The 'Riccio debates', as I am calling them, took place before, but then alongside, the Ossian phenomenon, and the challenge issued to the privileging of 'art' was made by Scots whose perspective on the past was being transformed by a growing sense of Celtic identity and by the growing body of knowledge surrounding song cultures.[22] Perhaps unsurprisingly, the claims for Italian influence in the progress of musical 'art' were made by one of the most influential figures in London's music scene around the middle of the century, the Italian ex-patriot, Francesco Geminiani.

Geminiani, who had resided in London since 1714, was a well known and respected composer and theorist, who could boast the distinction of being the student of Alessandro Scarlatti and Arcangelo Corelli - both names to conjure with in London's musical circles.[23] In addition to his compositions, Geminiani was, by the late 1740s, predominantly known for his *Sure Guide to Harmony and Modulation* (1748) and his violin virtuosity (he published a guide to playing in 1751). Yet, in his *Treatise of Good Taste* (1749), Geminiani made two claims that impacted upon discussions of song cultures, and music in general, for decades to come.

The first of these ideas was his theory of 'good taste', which placed his work upon the cusp of a shift towards the importance of the subjective experience of music. This theory is explored later in this chapter. The second claim was that all that was best about Scottish song and music could be attributed to the influence of an Italian immigrant, David Riccio. Riccio's name was first associated with the composition of several well-known Scottish songs in William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725). Nevertheless, Geminiani's reiteration and

[21] Riccio features predominantly in British historiography through his relationship to Mary, Queen of Scots. Few studies of Riccio exist. One however, written by Riccio's contemporary Lord Ruthven, was still in print by the nineteenth-century. See Lord Ruthven's, *Some Particulars of the Life of David Riccio* (London: 1815).

[22] The literature on Ossian is extensive and new publications and articles appear on an almost annual basis. A comprehensive, critical edition of the poems was edited by Howard Gaskill. Gaskill, *The Poems of Ossian: and Related Works* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996); For a recent publication, which, although openly biased towards Samuel Johnson's scepticism, provides a comprehensive overview of the literature from the 1760s to the present day, see Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson, the Ossian Fraud and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2009); Murray Pittock offered his own reading of the poems and argued that they demonstrated Macpherson's covert Jacobitism. See his *The Invention of Scotland*, pp.73-98.

[23] By the 1720s and 1730s Corelli's music was immensely popular, featuring in the repertoire of a range of music clubs, in concerts and in publications for 'amateurs'. Roger North tells us, that by 1726, 'Corelly's [sic] consort cleared the ground of all other sorts of musick whatsoever' and was 'the onely [sic] musick relished for a long time'. *Roger North's The Musicall Grammarian,* (ed.) by Mary Chan and Jamie Kassler (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1990), p.272, also, 155, n 168.

elaboration upon Thomson's claims made his *Treatise* an important touchstone in the 'Riccio debates' that were to follow. An analysis of the thinking behind Geminiani's support for the case also allows us to understand how most learned musicians (and writers in general) conceptualised the relationship between music and progress around the middle of the century.

Geminiani greatly admired Riccio as a composer; in fact he thought Riccio should be regarded as *the* most influential composer of the past two hundred years.

> Two composers of Musick have appear'd in the World,
> who...have rais'd my Admiration; namely
> David Rizzo and Gio. Baptista Lulli; of these which
> stands the highest in Reputation...is none of my business
> to pronounce: But when I consider that, Rizzo was
> foremost in point of Time, that till then Melody was
> intirely [sic] rude and barbarous, and that he found
> at once a means to civilize and inspire it
> with all the native Gallantry of the Scottish Nation,
> I am inclined to give him [Riccio] the Preference.[24]

In Geminiani's estimation, *all* melody up until Riccio's influence 'was entirely rude and barbarous'. Although he doesn't provide us with any evidence to justify such a bold claim, what matters was that such a notion was, for Geminiani, the only explanation that made sense. Scotland, he had come to believe, contained the oldest and most melodious songs known to him. Therefore, it must be the cradle of 'modern', refined melody. However, according to Geminiani's understanding of human progress, it was simply not possible for an unrefined, sixteenth-century Scotsman to have composed such enduring, mellifluous melodies. Hence, for Geminiani, the only possible explanation was that the genius and inspiration for this shift must have come from an outside, Italian influence – namely, David Riccio.

Geminiani's comments become clearer if we examine a copperplate print by the esteemed French sculptor Edmé Bouchardon (1698-1762), dated 1742, which Geminiani included on the inside cover of his *Treatise* (fig. 26).[25] The image is given meaning by the context of Geminiani's comments on rudeness and barbarity, but elaborates upon them by contextualising his thoughts within an established, tradition explaining the spread of civilisation.

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[24] Francisco Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London: 1749), p.1.
[25] Geminiani's *Treatise* was less popular than some of his subsequent publications, particularly his *Art of Playing the Violin* (1751). Nevertheless, it was, as we shall see, cited by numerous figures across the remainder of the century.

Figure 26: Copperplate engraving from the inside cover of Geminiani's *Treatise of Good Taste* (London: 1749). Originally drawn by Bouchardon and dated 1742, the engraving is by Simon Ravenet (1706-1774) and was presumably adapted c.1749 to suit Geminiani's purposes.

The top half of the image is primarily a tribute to Geminiani's patron, the Prince of Wales, and is irrelevant to our analysis here.[26] Our focus then, is upon the lower half of the composition. However, in order to gain a sense of the overall meaning of the image, we need

[26] The winged figure is carrying a three-feathered crown, the emblem of the Prince of Wales. Draped around the figure is a banner upon which is written 'Ich Dien', a contraction of the German for 'I serve' and a demonstration of Geminiani's fidelity to his patron, the Prince.

first to consider the objects it contains individually. Of notable significance is the link established between Geminiani and the 'ancients'. Like many contemporaries Geminiani offered the 'ancients' due reverence in his writings. For example, in his *Guida Armonica* (1748), he begins by acknowledging that the classical writers had a perfect understanding of the rules of harmony (the subject of his book).[27] To establish this link, Bouchardon places a Grecian-style armoured breast-plate adjacent to (and touching) a copy of Geminiani's *Guida Armonica.* The intention is to imply a lineage of musical learning, originating in antiquity and, perhaps, reaching a new pinnacle in the composer's own writings.

If we move to consider the background of the print we see a ship's launch heading for a rugged coast. In order to better understanding the meanings that contemporaries might have associated with such imagery we can consider Bouchardon's print alongside Johannes Stradanus' (1523-1605) painting *Amerigo Vespucci discovering America* (1589) (fig. 27). Although there are many points of dissimilarity between the compositions, we might nevertheless note the presence in both images of a ship anchored off a craggy, wild coastline. In both instances this functions as a metaphor for the arrival of a civilised people (and their knowledge) in barbarous lands. Both artists establish such meanings via a series of contrasts. Stradanus contrasts fine clothes with nakedness, a sword and armour with a club, and in the 1742 image, the artists 'tools' (a paintbrush and palette, for example) and instruments designed to indicate knowledge, such as the compass, are set against a background of sublime nature.

Bouchardon is drawing, then, upon an established visual language relating to discovery and the spread of knowledge.[28] It is worth noting that the items of learning are in the foreground, they are 'nearer', so to speak, to the viewer than the distant, untamed mountains, in both space and time. And this, taken together with the globe, which signified the spread of knowledge through discovery and commerce, establishes the primary meaning of the print as being the arrival of knowledge upon wild, rugged shores.

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[27] Despite his deference, like many writers by the middle of the century, Geminiani thought the ancients' understanding was unsuitable for the more 'advanced' forms and instruments now available and hence he argued that the rules of harmony had been perfected by more contemporary musicians, such as Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1715) and Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687). See Francesco Geminiani, 'Preface' to the *Guida Armonica, o Dizionario Armonico. Being a Sure Guide to Harmony and Modulation* (London: John Johnson, 1748).

[28] Another example of an image relating to the spread of knowledge to new worlds can be found on the title page to Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) *Novum Organum* (London: 1620). The image depicts a galleon passing through the Pillars of Hercules and breaking out from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic. See *The Instauratio Magna part II: Novum Organum and Associated Texts*, (ed.) by Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, (Oxford: O.U.P, 2004), pp.xxxii, 489-90.

Figure 27: *Amerigo Vespucci Awakens a Sleeping America,* by Theodor Galle (1571-1633). Engraving c.1630, after the original by Johannes Stradanus (1523-1605), 1589.

Set alongside Geminiani's comments we might reasonably infer that the image is therefore depicting the arrival of (civilised) Italian culture (spread by David Riccio) to the barbarous shores of Scotland. Geminiani's thoughts on Riccio were shaped, therefore, by an understanding that knowledge spread from more advanced nations to 'enlighten' the darker regions of the world. Evidently Geminiani understood civilisation as both a historical process of progress (originating in ancient Greece) and an achieved condition of civility (exemplified by knowledge of the refined arts).

We begin, then, to make sense of Geminiani's understanding of the role that music played within society. It was inconceivable to him that a 'barbarous' mind would be capable of composing well-constructed, inventive and highly original melodies. For Geminiani, the dissemination of 'art', by which he clearly meant ordered and refined creativity, was an essential part of the process of improvement. Like most musicians of the period, he saw sixteenth-century Italy as the birthplace of music's revival; it was the starting point from which it had returned (from its classical origins) to greatness. This influence, it was claimed, had been spreading across Europe since the sixteenth century. The idea that Scottish song had been dramatically influenced by a composer from a more civilised nation therefore explained the distinct and, to Geminiani, sophisticated and powerfully affecting melodic sound of Scottish songs.

Despite Geminiani's confident assertions, just eleven years after the publication of his *Treatise* the Riccio theory had become sufficiently controversial to provoke outrage when

mentioned in the press. One argument on this subject took place in the London newspapers early in 1760. An anonymous author, who was in all likelihood the Irishman Oliver Goldsmith (1730-1774), wrote several letters sketching out, as he saw it, a brief history of songs within Britain as a 'polite art' – which he defined as 'that succession of artists which has learned the principles of the art from eminent masters'.[29] For Goldsmith, the improvement of songs also involved the spreading of knowledge. Lowland Scottish songs, he explained, had a noticeably different sound to the far older (Celtic Irish influenced) highland songs, and their relative levels of refinement meant that it was highly unlikely that they pre-dated the sixteenth century or were of Celtic origin. The answer, he suggests, is that, many Scottish songs, 'probably had [their] origin in Italy; for some of the best Scotch ballads, the Broom of Cowden-Knows, for instance, are...ascribed to David Riccio'.[30]

Whilst his comments about English song, which he thought was primarily a hybrid of Italian and Celtic influences, went seemingly unchallenged (which in itself tells us something about the uncertainty with which the English viewed their own musical culture), his claims about David Riccio were, by the 1760s, contentious enough to draw a robust reply. An anonymous author (who signed him/herself 'S.R'), responded angrily that:

> This Rizzo must have been a most original genius,
> Or have possessed extraordinary imitative powers,
> to have come...from Italy, and strike so far out of
> the common road of his own country's musick.
> A mere fiddler, a shallow coxcombe, a giddy, insolent,
> worthless fellow to compose such pieces as nothing
> but genuine sensibility of mind, and an exquisite
> feeling of those passions which animate only the finest souls,
> could dictate...[make such a claim] impossible.[31]

Perhaps, he offered, Riccio simply added a few personal touches and flourishes to songs from a musical culture already established in Scotland before his arrival.[32] Goldsmith replied sharply, pointing out, as evidence, that not only did Riccio's name appear in the lavish *Orpheus Caledonius,* but that a most respected musician (namely Geminiani) had also been

[29] The article is attributed to Goldsmith in *The European Magazine,* 86 vols. (London: John Fielding, 1785), viii, pp.247-248; A recent meta-analysis of the linguistic features of Goldsmith's writing conclude that he *is* likely to have been the author of the comments on Scottish song that appeared in 1760 in the *British Magazine*. See Peter Dixon and David Mannion, 'Goldsmith and British Magazine: A Reconsideration', *Literary and Linguistic Computing,* Vol. 25, No. 2 (2010), 243-263.
[30] The letters had originally been published in *The British Magazine* earlier that same year. *London Chronicle,* May 29, 1760.
[31] *London Chronicle,* May 29, 1760. Signed 'S.R' and dated February 18, 1760.
[32] Dr. John Gregory also made this argument at a later date, but it is unclear whether he reached the conclusion independently. Gregory, *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with Those of the Animal World,* 4th edition (Dublin: 1768), p.127.

satisfied with these claims.[33] However, S.R's rebuttal did not rely upon references to established musicians, but instead upon the notion that Scottish songs require, from the composer, a particular 'sensibility of mind' and an 'exquisite feeling of passions'. It was this sense of the impassioned qualities of Scottish song, more than anything else, that in S.R's opinion, made the Riccio claims seem absurd.

'S.R' was not alone in his outrage, and across the remainder of the century, numerous writers concurred with his sentiments. James Beattie (1735-1803), Professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow and a figure typically judged to have been amongst the cultural Anglophones who disparaged Scottish culture, went to some lengths to challenge the Riccio thesis. One argument that Beattie put forward echoed 'S.R' in arguing that 'a foreigner [Riccio]...could [not] have acquired or invented a style of musical composition so different in every respect from that to which he had been accustomed in his own country'.[34] Of more significance, however, was Beattie's reasoning that '*Melody* is so much the characteristic of the Scotch tunes...[whilst] in the days of Rizzio, *Harmony* was the fashionable study of Italian musicians'.[35] The notion that a man of learning, schooled in the 'art' of music, which was founded in Italy upon the supremacy of harmony, could have composed such melodies seemed, to Beattie, a nonsense. 'I rather believe', he explained, 'that it [Scottish song], took its rise amongst men who were real shepherds, and who actually felt the sentiments and affections, whereof it is so very expressive'. Perhaps, he conjectured, 'Rizzo may have been one of the first to make a collection of these songs...but that this style of pastoral melody...in every respect so peculiar, should have been established by or invented by him, is incredible; nay...we might even say impossible'.[36]

Numerous other writers, such as the Scottish lawyer and historian William Tytler (1711-1792), added their voices to the chorus of Scots who found the Riccio thesis absurd. In all such instances, these writers explained that their incredulity originated in their insistence that such 'natural', 'pastoral' songs could not have been composed by a man schooled and educated in the 'art' of music.[37] As David Herd (c.1732-1810), a Scottish song collector and editor, put it, Scottish songs possess a 'forcible and pathetic simplicity, which at once lays a strong hold on the affections' and, as a result, it appeals to 'every lover of nature and unaffected' (that is, not refined) music. These songs, he argued, were a reminder, as well as proof, of the 'romantic' and 'pastoral life of the country', past and present, and attributing their composition to a figure who would have been schooled in centuries of Italian musical knowledge, was laughable.[38]

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[33] *London Chronicle,* May 29, 1760.
[34] James Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music as they Affect the Mind,* (Edinburgh: William Creech; London: E. and C. Dilley, 1776), p.187.
[35] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.187.
[36] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.189.
[37] William Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music' in, *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* (Edinburgh: 1792), p.470.
[38] David Herd, *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, & c. Now Collected First Into One Body, from the Various Miscellanies Wherein the Formerly Lay Dispersed* (Edinburgh: Martin and

English writers of the 1760s and beyond were equally dismissive of the Riccio claims, albeit, for different reasons. In their respective histories of music, Sir John Hawkins (1719-1789) and Dr. Charles Burney (1726-1814) both agreed that the Riccio claims were nonsense - nothing but 'vulgar tradition', thought Hawkins, in his typically acerbic style.[39] But, in both instances, their reasonings were based not on the melodic qualities or powerful effects that Scots songs were claimed to have upon the emotions, but instead upon the lack of supporting archival evidence.[40] Furthermore, Hawkins regarded Riccio as a loathsome figure, who was not learned or talented enough to have composed such enduring melodies.[41] He therefore rubbished the Riccio claims, not because Scottish melodies were too powerful to have been created by a civilised individual, but because Riccio was not educated *enough* in the art of music to have been their composer. Hence, as we shall see in chapter five, Hawkins reasoned that such wonderful melodies must have originated with someone of extensive learning and 'taste', and this, he argued, must have been the Scottish King, James I (c.1394-1437).[42]

The palpable sense of outrage found in many Scottish writings begins to reveal the strength of positive feelings that many Scots had for their native song culture. But it is their constant insistence that an Italian was not involved in their composition that alerts us to the fact that Scottish thinkers were judging their musical culture by standards other than refinement. What is clear from their writings is that an outside influence, an Italian schooled in 'art', was no longer considered desirable or necessary to explain the quality and power of Scottish melodies. As we shall see, the reason for this was that, beyond the 1750s, a cult of primitivism had arisen and associations between primitivism and music allowed Scottish thinkers to reassess the status of their musical culture. Scottish song, they believed, was superior to English song *because* it was unrefined. By contrast, English song, because it was composed in a relatively recent civil age, was now judged to be less capable of moving the human passions. In order to understand this shift in thinking we need to consider the works of two figures, the Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the English musician Charles Avison.

The expressive, savage state of man:

The prevailing sense of optimism about human progress was struck an uncomfortable blow by the interpretation of human society, past and present, put forward by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Rousseau's publications, which began with his first *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences* (Paris:

Wotherspoon, 1769), pp.iii, iv. On the title page Herd linked the present with a 'pastoral' past by including a print depicting a pair of shepherds both dressed in the latest eighteenth-century fashions. Such juxtapositions were fairly common at the time and can be seen, for example, in the large numbers (frequently imported) porcelain figures of bucolic figures dressed in fine, fashionable clothing. See, for example, Peter Bradshaw, *Derby Porcelain Figures, 1750-1848* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), pp.245-46. I am indebted to Dr. Philip Kelleway for the reference.

[39] Hawkins, *GHoSPM,* iv, p.2.

[40] Burney, *GHoM,* iii, pp.219-220.

[41] Hawkins*, GHoSPM*, iv, p.2.

[42] Hawkins, *GHoSPM,* iv, pp.4-5.

1750), raised what many came to regard as distasteful questions about the relative state of 'modern' mankind compared to his distant ancestors. A broad consensus held, not just amongst historians, but amongst most enlightenment commentators, that man was emerging out of centuries of superstition and ignorance due to the advancement of learning - particularly 'science', and the positive moral influences of the 'arts'. Rousseau, however, was unconvinced. Casting a critical eye about him, he argued that contemporary society was in fact rife with decadence, inequality and unhappiness. Far from being the end product of centuries of improvement, humanity, he argued, had in fact degenerated over time, sliding from a 'golden age' of simplicity and harmony, towards the venality and social inequality that pervaded his own era. Because 'art' and 'science' did not arise from natural human needs, but rather from human vanity, they were not beneficial to mankind. A lust for learning and the knowledge that it had brought was generating social inequality and opportunities for idleness.[43]

Rousseau did not regard 'art' as inherently bad, but he did argue that the 'vicious ornaments of fashions' favoured by so many of his contemporaries had destroyed 'art's' 'natural' powers. Before 'art' had 'moulded our behaviours, and taught our passions to speak an affected language', he wrote, 'our manners were indeed rustic, but (they were also) sincere and natural'. The shift towards 'art' had destroyed the simple ability to 'dive into the thoughts of man'; an advantage that had exempted pre-civilised mankind from 'many vices'.[44] What Rousseau was suggesting then, was that, despite their barbarism, primitive peoples were capable of producing forms of cultural expression, which, freed from the constraints and affectations that corrupted 'art' in his own time, were unfettered vocalisations of the human passions.

Rousseau did not include music in the first *Discourse on the Arts and Sciences,* but he did write about it at length in numerous other publications, including his *Letter on French Music* (Paris: 1753), as well as several entries for Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751-1772).[45] Within the latter publication he caused further controversy by challenging the authority of France's then leading musical authority, Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764). Rousseau suggested that singing must be mankind's earliest form of expression, because it would have developed from the natural cadences of the human voice. Without the restrictive

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[43] See Rousseau's *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* (1750), which first appeared in English as *The Discourse which Carried the Præmium at the Academy of Dijon, in MDCCL. On this Question, Propos'd by the Said Academy, Whether the Re-establishment of Arts and Sciences has Contributed to the Refining of Manners* (Dublin: Richard James, 1751); In his next text Rousseau set out to demonstrate that 'primitive' man was not lacking in morality. In fact, he argued that innumerable 'crimes, 'wars', 'murders', 'misfortunes and horrors', were the result of the ownership of property, a key part of 'civil society'. See *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality Among Mankind* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761), p.97.

[44] Rousseau, *The Discourse which Carried the Præmium*, p.16.

[45] On Rousseau's writings on music see Robert Wokler's, *Rousseau on Society, Politics, Music and Language: An Historical Interpretation of his Early Writings* (New York, London: Garland, 1987); For a collection containing Rousseau's considerable range of writings on music, together with an 'Introduction' that demonstrates how Rousseau's thoughts on music integrate with his wider philosophical 'systems', see *Essays on the Origins of Languages and Writings Related to Music,* (translated and ed.) by John T. Scott (Hanover, New Hampshire and London: University Press of New England, 1998).

and distorting rules and trappings of 'art' (particularly the 'Gothick invention' of harmony, which Rameau had prioritised as the essential quality of music), singing amongst primitive people must have been a powerful and genuine means of communicating the human passions.[46]

Within Britain, Rousseau's radical world-view was met initially with hostility.[47] Few were willing to see art and science as having deleterious effects upon society, and for that reason his writings remained unpalatable to some across the century. Nonetheless, Rousseau's thoughts did spark considerable conversation about the merits and dangers of 'natural' human expression, and also about the role of music in human history. Whilst few English writers were willing to accept with certainty that 'natural' music was superior to music as 'art', Rousseau's ideas certainly influenced the thinking of many writers north of the Tweed.[48]

However, the influence of Rousseau's writings stretched far beyond discourse on music. His attacks upon contemporary life left many pining for supposedly less corrupt and less complicated times. As a result, his works can be argued to have been influential in reinvigorating interest in pastoralism across Europe.[49] Broadly, the pastoral referred (and refers) to the depiction, be it in music, poetry, drama or literature, of an idealised, rural life - Samuel Johnson defined it succinctly as 'beseeming' or 'imitating' shepherds.[50] Musically speaking, interest in the bucolic had already influenced the development, beyond the 1720s, of ballad operas in Britain (like Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*), and in France (earlier than in England) had led to the *comédie en vaudeville,* a genre to which Rousseau added his own example, *Le Devin du Village* in 1752.[51] The pastoral also influenced, as we saw in chapter three, English conceptions of Scotland and Scottishness.

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[46] Rameau's *Treatise on Harmony,* first published in Paris in 1722, suggested that harmonic principles were universal and governed by mathematical laws. Only 'Book III' of the *Traité* was translated into English within Rameau's lifetime and appeared as *A Treatise of Musick, Containing the Principle of Composition* (London: 1737). On the importance of the *Treatise* see Joel Lester, 'Rameau and Eighteenth-Century Harmonic Theory' in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory,* (ed.) by Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2002), pp.753-777; Also, Christensen's *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1993); For an in-depth study of the conversations on music between Rousseau, Rameau and Diderot see Cynthia Verba, *Music and the French Enlightenment: Reconstruction of a Dialogue, 1750-1764* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[47] See, for example, the translator's comments that accompanied the first English edition of Rousseau's *Discourse.* The translator judged it to be 'one of the finest modern pieces of oratory', yet, because the author (Rousseau) had, by attacking 'art' and learning, 'argued the wrong side of the question', the translator set out to add critical remarks demonstrating 'how absurd his tenets were'. See *The Discourse which Carried the Præmium at the Academy of Dijon,* (1751), pp.iii-v.

[48] Clair Nelson has suggested that Scottish writers, specifically Dr. Gregory and James Beattie, embarked upon nothing short of a 'crusade...to provide a critical account of Scots music which would facilitate a considered guide for the composition, or performance of Scottish song upon Rousseau's model' See her 'Tea-table Miscellanies', p.604.

[49] D. G. Charlton, *New Images of the Natural In France* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1984), p.34. Charlton argues that Rousseau was the 'outstanding figure, certainly in France and arguably in Europe' generating interest in the pastoral during the 1750s and 1760s.

[50] Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language,* ii.

[51] Rousseau's *Devin* was adapted for the English stage by Charles Burney and appeared under the title of *The Cunning Man* in 1762. For a brief overview of Burney's adaptation see Elizabeth Le Guin, 'Charles Burney and the Cunning Man', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* Vol. 44, No. 1, (2010), 113-116.

However, of significance here is the fact that pastoralism and the lionisation of primitive melody began to exert a strong influence upon writers and editors of song publications and histories. An alternative reading of the past began to take shape, divergent from what I am categorising as the orthodox model, in which all music of any quality had its roots in Greek learning and owed its 'modern' refinement to composers of sixteenth-century Italy. As a result, during the second half of the century, Scottish song histories began to be shaped by the appealing notion that their culture was of 'ancient' *native* origin, and therefore more expressive than that of their southern neighbours.

Rousseau's influence was therefore considerable, but he was not the only writer to have helped generate this shift in attitudes towards songs. Arguably of comparable importance was the notion of 'musical expression', put forward first by Francesco Geminiani, but developed and realised as a coherent concept by his pupil, the English composer and organist Charles Avison. In his *Treatise of Good Taste* Geminiani had boasted of a 'new discovery in the Arts and Sciences' that will benefit 'all lovers of music'.[52] In reality, Geminiani's *Treatise* was a mixture of radicalism tempered with conservatism. It was 'traditional' in its view of the past (that is, in tracing the 'rebirth' of music as an 'art' back to sixteenth-century Italy), but it was also progressive in that Geminiani put forward a theory of 'good taste', which his student, Charles Avison (c.1709-1770), would later expand upon in his seminal *Essay on Musical Expression.*

Geminiani thought that education in the 'art' of music was vital for guiding the performance of those whom he tactfully describes as people of 'moderate genius'. But the rules of composition and performance were also important for refining and elevating the works of those whom 'nature had gifted' with 'a musical ear'. Like many other commentators, Geminiani thought that contemporary musicians often went too far in embellishing their playing. Good performance, he argued, was all a question of balance. Overly elaborate exhibitions of virtuosity deviated too much from the carefully crafted structures of a composition, whilst performances that were unguided by learning risked becoming 'rude' and unrefined. To counter this, Geminiani offered a 'tasteful' middle ground. When performing, musicians should 'express with strength and delicacy the intentions of the composer'. In other words, they should seek to convey the expressive qualities laid down in the score, but do so without losing control and becoming excessively impassioned.

In 1752, three years after Geminiani's *Treatise,* Charles Avison published his *Essay on Musical Expression.* The contents of the *Essay* were mentioned briefly in chapter two, but are investigated here in greater detail. Avison picked up the torch from his mentor and suggested, contrary to established doctrine (which hinged on the debate of the ancients versus the moderns), that what mattered within the composition, performance and discussion of music was 'expression'. Avison assigned primacy to neither harmony nor melody, claiming them both to be equally important. As a practicing musician he believed that music was good when it clearly

[52] Geminiani, 'Preface' to *A Treatise of Good Taste* (1749).

and forcefully communicated the passions. What mattered then was not the presence of cosmically aligned harmony, the correct use of ancient modes, or extensive knowledge of the 'art', but rather the expressive qualities of the music. In addition, Avison did not limit 'expression' to the intentions of the composer. In so doing he moved beyond the ideas of his teacher Geminiani and opened up discussion about *where* the expressive powers of music lay.[53] Did the power of music to affect a listener come from the composer, who somehow (and here the debates would now divide between those who supported the idea of natural genius, and those who emphasised the importance of the rules of 'art') managed to convey his sentiments onto the page? Could the performer play a part in altering or generating the expressive qualities of the piece? Or was what mattered the interpretation of the music by the listener?

Although Avison, an accomplished composer, would never have extolled the virtues of unrefined, unlearned music, the emphasis that he placed upon the primacy of expression allowed for a fundamental shift in judgement about the qualities of music to take place. This, combined with Rousseau's arguments about the powers of unlearned melody, shaped Scottish thinking beyond the 1750s. Indeed, Avison's *Essay* was, beyond the 1750s, referenced and quoted by almost all authors who wrote on the subject of music for the remainder of the century. So too, we find that the majority of Scottish writers of song histories, or authors writing on music more generally, make reference to Rousseau. James Beattie's thought that Scottish song 'took its rise amongst men who were real shepherds, and who actually felt the sentiments and affections, whereof it is so very expressive', owed, as he himself noted, a considerable debt to both Rousseau and to Avison.[54] Alexander Gerard (1728-1795), Professor of Moral Philosophy, when writing his prize winning essay on taste (c.1759), pronounced with confidence that 'the chief excellence in music lies in its *expression.* By this quality, music is applied to a determinate subject: it acquires, becomes, and agitates the soul of whatever passions the artist chooses'.[55] Likewise, David Herd, when writing his history of Scottish songs, thought that it was the 'forcible and pathetic simplicity, which at once lays a strong hold on the affections' that gave Scottish songs their uncanny powers over the listener.[56] For David Herd, it had been the obviously 'pastoral' sounds of the melodies found within Scottish songs, rather than the sort of archival evidence presented by Charles Burney, that made plain the falsehood of the Riccio claims.[57] So too, when Dr. John Gregory wrote on the subject of Scottish song, he drew upon

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[53] *Charles Avison's Essay on Musical Expression: With Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison,* (ed.) by Pierre Dubois (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.xxvi-xxix.
[54] Beattie, in his 'How are the Pleasures we derive from Music to be accounted for?' references both Avison and Rousseau as being instrumental to his thinking on Scottish song. See his *Essay on Poetry and Music,* pp.147-194.
[55] Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Taste: Together with Observations Concerning the Imitative Powers of Poetry* (Edinburgh and London: 1759), p.64.
[56] Herd, *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs,* i, pp.iii, iv.
[57] Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', (1792), p.470.

Rousseau and Avison to conclude that, 'vocal music is the first and most natural music in every country'.[58]

From the 1760s onwards then, a sense of the primitivism of Scots song, which explained its extraordinary expressive powers, put English writers of song histories on the back foot and, as we shall see, made the very notion of an English song culture questionable. Comparisons between 'simple and tender' Scottish songs, which are 'full of strokes of Nature and Passion' and 'the quaint and childish conceits' that abounded within English songs, were not uncommon, and provoked, as we shall see, a range of English responses.[59]

A song culture that 'yields to none of her neighbours':

The sense of confidence that now entered writings on Scottish music was palpable. William Tytler (1711-1792), a Scottish lawyer and historian, opined that 'Scottish melodies contain strong expression of the passions...in which the air often so finely corresponds to the subject of the song...I conjecture [that]...we may run a parallel between the ancient Greek music and our Scottish melodies...and...it is probable that we do the best of their music no hurt in classing it with our own'.[60] In other words, he argued, that 'the natural melody of the old Scottish songs' was the inheritor, in power if not by ancestry, of the ingenious qualities that made the music of the 'ancients' so revered.[61] Comments, such as those by David Herd, who proclaimed that Scottish songs are loved the world over, not because of national bias or prejudice, but because of the natural laws governing taste, and because of the innate '*poetry and music of the heart'*, were not uncommon north and south of the Tweed.[62] Indeed, English writers broadly echoed such sentiments, and admitted that Scottish song culture was undeniably superior to the English. Even the controversial English antiquarian Joseph Ritson (1752-1803), whose pugnacious and aggressive personality resulted in several bitter arguments during his career (not least when he wrote an angry, xenophobic letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1784 in which he signed himself 'anti-Scot'), argued that there was no doubt that the Scottish, above almost all other nations, had a 'genius for melody' and that, musically speaking, the 'English had and have nothing equal in merit, nor in fact anything of the kind' to compete with the Scots.[63]

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[58] Gregory, *Comparative View of the Faculties of Man,* p.152.
[59] Gregory, *Comparative View of the Faculties of Man,* p.152.
[60] Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', pp.493-94.
[61] William Tytler, 'Observations Concerning Scottish Songs', in *Westminster Magazine,* 11 vols. (London: 1776), xi, p.592.
[62] Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs,* (1776), i, pp.ii, vii.
[63] Joseph Ritson, 'To Mr. Pinkerton', in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* (November, 1784), pp.812-14. The contents were so heated that the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* took the unusual step of adding a note at the end of the letter to make clear that he disapproved of the tone and manner of the polemic; Karen McAuley recently called Ritson a 'cultural nationalist' for his comments. See McAuley's, '"From 'Anti-Scot', to 'Anti-Scottish Sentiment"': Cultural Nationalism and Scottish Song in the Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries', *Library and Information History,* Vol. 26, No. 4, (Dec. 2010), 272-288.

The certainty for these convictions lay in the power of Scottish song to move the listener. Rousseau had argued that melodies composed by individuals free from the constraints of 'art' would be closer to, and therefore more expressive of, the human passions. Because Scottish songs were so effective at giving rise to certain passions in the listener, it was assumed that they must be of greater age and, as Beattie argued, must have been produced by individuals who lived in more 'pastoral' times. The sense of Scotland being less advanced, or more 'savage' (a charge particularly levelled at the highlands by writers such as Samuel Johnson), was, in the context of thinking about song cultures, now regarded as a positive quality.

When William Tytler published three, increasingly lengthy and increasingly elaborate versions of a *Dissertation on Scottish Music* (1776, 1779 and 1792), his history of Scottish song made clear that it was the pastoral, unrefined nature of their melodies that allowed their favourable comparison with the fabled melodies of the 'ancients'.[64] Tytler draws a clear distinction between 'art', which he regarded as an artificial construct found amongst developed nations, and 'genius' from which sprang the powers of music produced within primitive societies.[65] For the minister Tytler, the Scottish genius for writing songs was a divine gift that could be traced in the nation's song history from at least the fifteenth century to the present day. Although he shared Rousseau's enthusiasm for the primitive, he was keen to stress that not all contemporary music was overly elaborate or had been made less expressive by learning. As evidence he cited the contemporary Scottish composer Jamie Oswald, who, in Tytler's opinion, still wrote simple, pathetic melodies that captured the pastoral spirit of the nation's musical culture.[66]

Like many authors of song histories, Tytler busied himself with trying to trace the development of national songs over time. But to do this, songs needed to be placed in chronological order. So, when Tytler presented his findings to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (c.1792) he laid out his three methods for dating songs. The first was simple. If the song contained reference to specific historical events (a battle, for example), then this provided some sense of the song's age. The second was the antiquity of the language used. After all, just because a song mentioned a battle did not necessarily mean that it was contemporaneous to the event. However, if the lyrics were sufficiently 'antiquated' then this provided a means of verification. But most interesting of all was his third method, which was to scrutinise the music itself.[67] How simple, he asked, is the melody and how complicated or simple would an instrument need to be in order to perform the song?

Using these rules Tytler analysed many of the songs from some of Allan Ramsay's collections. He implied that the songs within Ramsay's publications, and indeed Scottish songs

[64] Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', (1792), p.469.
[65] Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', p.497; On the changing meaning of the word 'genius' see Williams, *Keywords,* pp.143-144.
[66] Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', pp.489-90.
[67] Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', p.471.

in general, could be dated to one of five periods of development. He began by suggesting that most of the songs found within Ramsay's publications dated to the late seventeenth, or early eighteenth centuries - somewhere between c.1660 and 1707. Some other songs, such as *Thro' the Wood Laddie,* he thought slightly older, and he dated them to a period spanning c.1550-1660. In his next period of refinement he grouped together Scottish songs that were written during the reigns of James V and Mary, Queen of Scots (roughly c.1514 to the 1580s), and this left him with a fourth period of refinement, in which he included songs dating to the reign of James I (reigned 1406-37).[68]

In Tytler's estimation the initial phase of Scottish song history was pastoral, and took place prior to the fifteenth century in a Celtic society in which songs and songwriters were venerated, and bards and shepherds alike were all capable of creating highly expressive songs. By the fifteenth century a degree of refinement occurred at the hands of a Scottish king, but this did nothing to damage the expressive qualities. Hence this genius continued, he thought, to the present day, when the force of Scottish melody could still be heard in the compositions of contemporaries such as Oswald.

In his *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* (which appeared in two editions, in 1769 and 1776), the Scottish song collector and editor David Herd (c.1732-1810) made efforts to ensure that the songs in his collection had not been tainted by 'art', and to do this he gathered many of the words and tunes from 'the memories of country people'.[69] Because they were pure in their line of descent (from the oral culture), these 'common and national songs' exhibited the 'character, genius, taste and pursuits of the people'. They therefore provided a link between Scots past and present and evidenced a culture that stretched back centuries, perhaps even millennia. Scottish song, with its superior melodies and deep cultural roots, was at least one area where globally the Scots need 'yield to none of their neighbours'.[70]

Claims of great age and links to a Celtic ancestry put discussions and histories of Scottish songs in close proximity to the Ossian phenomenon. In 1760 the Scottish poet James Macpherson (1736-1796) published *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland,* which he claimed to have 'translated' from 'ancient' Gaelic manuscripts. One year later, he ' discovered' an epic poem by a bard named Ossian, which he would later publish, alongside other pieces, in *The Works of Ossian* (1765). Discussions broke out almost immediately over the authenticity of Macpherson's claims. On the one hand there were those who saw in Ossian a recovered piece of Celtic heritage that demonstrated the 'natural' genius of Scottish bards, whilst, on the other hand, were critics who derided the poems as second-rate forgeries.

The reaction to Macpherson's publications amongst Scotland's men of letters was mixed. Certainly, for some eighteenth-century writers, such as William Robertson (1721-1793),

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[68] Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', (1792), pp.487-88.
[69] David Herd, *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs,* (Edinburgh: 1769), p.iv.
[70] Herd*, The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1776), i, p.vi.

the Celtic past was an age of immaturity that Scotland was now in the process of outgrowing.[71] But amongst others, Ossian caused a swell of patriotic excitement about an 'ancient' Celtic cultural heritage, and provided a platform upon which to begin constructing a highly 'romanticised' sense of Scotland's Celtic past.[72]

It fell to the man who had organised the publication of Macpherson's *Fragments*, the Scottish minister Hugh Blair (1718-1800) to begin to try and draw 'the [musical] tastes of Ossian's age and country' from the poetry.[73] For Blair these poems and songs were valuable monuments informing us about the 'ancient state of nations'.[74] When it came to describing the very beginnings of society, history, he wrote, was vague and in a state of 'fabulous confusion'. Through these artefacts we might, he argued, get in contact with our 'artless' ancestors and better understand our nation's past. Beyond their value to the historian, they were also certain to please the 'modern' listener, for, 'in the progress of society, the genius and manners of men undergo a change more favourable to accuracy than to sprightliness and sublimity. As the world advances, the understanding gains ground upon the imagination; the understanding is more exercised; the imagination, less', and so it is that 'human nature is pruned according to method and rule'.[75]

Scotland's ancient society of hunters would have celebrated, he thought, 'gallant actions' and heroes, and therefore the 'grave' music frequently found in the highlands of Scotland, would have been the most fitting accompaniment. By contrast, contemporary songs, with their Italian influences, were 'light and trifling', and risked 'emasculat[ing] the mind'.[76] The songs of Ossian were therefore the perfect antidote to the effeminate ornamentation of contemporary music, which he thought at odds with Scotland's 'manly' songs of old. According to Blair, Scotland's 'ancient' songs would have been Celtic and would also have been free from the many influences that were corrupting the Scottish sound in his own time.

In part, Sir John Hawkins agreed with Blair's analysis. Scottish song culture, he thought, had, throughout its history remained uncorrupted by foreign influences. That was, however, until we arrive at the 1730s, beyond which, composers of Scottish songs had most

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[71] See for example William Robertson's *The History of Scotland,* 2 vols. (Dublin: G. and A. Ewing, 1759).

[72] That the poems caused a ground swell of interest in a romanticised Celtic past is evident in a wide range of literature. See *The Reception of Ossian in Europe,* (ed.) by Howard Gaskill (London: Thoemmes, 2004); On the extraordinary range of images inspired by the Ossian poems, see Henry Okun, 'Ossian in Painting', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 30 (1967), 327-356; The 'fragments' also influenced the imagination of musicians. Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music: A European Enthusiasm* (Cambridge: C.U.P, 1983).

[73] Hugh Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal,* 2nd edition (London: 1765); Blair made the necessity of a union between poetry and music explicit in the outline of one of the lectures he gave at the University of Edinburgh. See his *Heads of the Lectures on Rhetorick and Belle Lettres* (Edinburgh: 1777), pp.40-41.

[74] Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian,* p.1.

[75] Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian,* pp.3-4.

[76] Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian,* pp.92-93.

definitely infused the culture with many Italianate characteristics.[77] Unlike Blair, Hawkins did not comment on whether he thought this infusion was an improvement or a corruption of the native sound. But many English writers were more partisan when it came to assessing the history of Scottish songs.

Whilst English writers of song histories generally accepted that Scottish songs were superior, several still rose to the defence of their native culture. The first to do so was the English antiquarian Thomas Percy (1729-1811), who attempted to raise serious doubts about the verifiable age of Scottish song culture. Percy's ultimate aim was to discredit the Ossian poems, but he also hoped to foster greater appreciation amongst the English for their own 'rude' song culture. Hence he began his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), which Samuel Johnson had a hand in producing, with a quotation from the prologue to *Jane Shore* (1714) by Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718), the former Poet Laureate. [78]

> These venerable antient Song-enditers
> Soar'd many a pitch above our modern writers:
> With rough majestic force they mov'd the heart,
> And strength and nature made amends for Art.[79]

Percy's intention was to present the songs and poems in, as near as he could make certain, chronological order and thereby to 'exhibit the progress of popular opinions, display the peculiar customs and manners of former ages' and show the 'gradual improvements' of songs and poetry, 'from the [age of Chaucer] down to the present'.[80] In this respect, it was an attempt to present a chronology of improvements in English songs, substantiated by shifts in the language of the lyrics over time.

This drive for verifiable age was why Percy spent several pages going into details about the manuscript collections he had consulted and the eminent professors and collectors to whom he was indebted.[81] And it was why he dated no song back much beyond Chaucer, whose fourteenth-century writings provided a point of comparison from which he could verifiably date the language of his oldest songs.[82]

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[77] Hawkins, *GHoSPM*, iv, p.6.
[78] Percy mentions that the 'author of the Rambler' (Johnson) had approved his publication. Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs and other Pieces of our Earliest Poets,* 3 vols. (London: J. Dodsley, 1765), i, p.ix.
[79] Percy took two separate stanzas from the poem and spliced them together. However, the original meaning of the verse is retained. See the preface to Rowe's *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* (London: T. Johnson, 1714).
[80] Percy, *Reliques,* i, pp.ix-x.
[81] He mentions, to name a few, consulting the "Pepsyian Library', the 'Ashmole' and 'Bodleyan [sic]' Libraries, Oxford, The British Museum, and liaising with a Mr. Warton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford. Percy, *Reliques,* pp.xi-xiv.
[82] Chaucer's Canterbury Tales were 'modernised' by an extraordinary number of writers during the eighteenth century. See *Eighteenth-Century Modernizations from the Canterbury Tales* (ed.) by Betsy Bowden (Rochester, New York: D. S. Brewer, 1991), esp. pp.xii-xvii.

To complement and enhance these claims Percy also provided his readers with a history of English song makers and singers, which he included in the publication as an 'Essay on the Ancient English Minstrels'. Minstrels, he claimed, were the successors of the ancient bards, which implied that the English, widely perceived to be of Teutonic rather than Celtic ancestry, had, like the Scots, a bardic heritage. His history begins then with a set of claims designed to suggest that, like Blair's Celtic ancestors, the English also had forefathers who respected and cherished song. 'It is well known', he argued, 'what respect was shewn to their Bards by the Britons...no less....[than] most of the nations of Gothic race', or, 'our Saxon...brethren the ancient Danes'.[83] However, unlike Blair, who does not provide a succinct history of later developments, Percy goes on to chart the fortunes of songwriters beyond the first 'savage' state. After the arrival of Christianity, he writes, two peculiar professions developed. Bards disappeared and instead poetry was cultivated by men of letters, whilst minstrels took over the role of travelling songsters playing in the halls of the wealthy and powerful. These minstrels were respected and their chosen profession was entirely honourable, until we reach the end of the sixteenth century when, he argues, 'they lost much of their dignity, and were sinking into contempt and neglect'.[84]

During and beyond this decline in Elizabeth's age, Percy is keen to emphasise a difference in quality between the songs of northern and southern England. Many songs in his collection are described as being from 'the north countrie' [sic] - by which he primarily meant northern England and the border territories - and these songs are, on the whole, he finds, 'extremely incorrect', having been composed with a 'romantic wildness'. By contrast, songs produced further south (in southern England) 'exhibit a more modern phraseology, and are commonly descriptive of more modern manners'. This north/south divide can be explained, he contends, by considering the spread of musical learning. As Percy argues, 'the civilizing of nations has begun in the south: [and] the North would therefore be civilized last, and the old manners would longest subsist there'.[85] In essence, 'northern' society, which must by logical extension include Scotland, remained closer to a state of 'nature' for longer than the south due to the latter's relative proximity to the Mediterranean cultures.

Doubtless, he conjectured, these softer songs would also have played an important part in the process of civilisation.[86] For songs with stories of good deeds and heroism, he suggests, could only serve to have educated and tamed barbarous minds.[87] Southern England must then have benefitted from her relative proximity to the Mediterranean and would have achieved a state of civility earlier than the 'north'. How, the reader was supposed to be left asking, could it possibly be the case that, with civilisation spreading northwards, the third-

[83] Percy, *Reliques,* p.xv.
[84] Percy, *Reliques,* p.xix.
[85] Percy, *Reliques,* pp.xxi-xxiii.
[86] Percy, *Reliques,* pp. vii, ix.
[87] Percy, *Reliques,* p.vii.

century songs of Ossian could be more 'advanced' than the songs of northern England, which were still relatively crude up until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? The answer, he implied, was that they were forgeries.

The judgement of posterity upon Percy has been somewhat unkind. When writing in the 1960s and 1970s historians and musicologists tended to look with contempt upon Percy's failure to engage with the black-letter ballads and songs of England's 'folk' culture. Comparing Percy's *Reliques* unfavourably to the writings of German figures such as Johann Herder (1744-1803), Peter Burke read Percy's essay on minstrels as a class-based piece of snobbery attempting to link English 'folksong' to 'high status' minstrels operating at court.[88] Yet, Percy was writing in direct response to England's perceived lack of a distinct song heritage. He was, like all English writers, handicapped and perhaps even irritated by a sense of the temporally shallow roots of English songs in a Britain increasingly enamoured by a 'cult of cultural primitivism'.[89] Hence, he fell back upon an orthodox reading of the diffusion of learning and, where he could, made the case for English 'bardic'/minstrel heritage.

Like Percy, the Englishman John Stafford Smith, who, as we have seen, held Scottish song in the highest regard for its expressive qualities, revived the spirit of Samuel Johnson to go on the offensive and attack what he saw as an exalted mythology building up around Scottish songs. To make his case, Smith began by discussing the 'art' versus 'nature' question. To Smith it was clear that 'art', by which he meant music composed within the last few centuries, triumphed over the expressive forms of man in his 'natural state'. Contemporary music had expressive melody, but it also had refinement, which gave it grace. It is true, he admitted - clearly under the influence of the trenchant suspicions of Italian culture that still pervaded many quarters of English society - that contemporary songs could be *too* ornate, and thereby dangerously effeminate. But it was only when these ornaments were taken to excess that they became dangerous and ceased to function as expressions of refinement.

Unusually, Smith was careful to distinguish between Scottish, Irish, Welsh and *British* music. Evidently he envisioned Britishness as something essentially English and older than the Union. Then, like Tytler, he too attempted to map out a history of song culture that, this time, was designed to provide English, rather than Scottish songs, with an envious pedigree. We must look, he suggests, back to ancient Egypt for the origins of music. The knowledge gained in this land then passed to Greece and Rome, and from there on to France and Germany, until finally, it reached England, which now stands as *the* most musically advanced nation in the world.[90] All ages of Englishmen, he writes, looked back upon previous eras and noticed the march of progress, and maintained a sense of nostalgia and of wanting to preserve the less refined music

[88] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* 3rd edition (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009; orig. 1978), p.25.
[89] Burke, *Popular Culture,* p.33.
[90] John Stafford Smith, *A Collection of English Songs, in Score for Three and Four Voices, Composed Around the Year 1500* (London: 1779), p.i.

of their ancestors. Even the Elizabethans, whose songs had recently been much in vogue in London, cultivated, he argues, a taste for 'old' songs.[91] Because 'art' was a hallmark of a civilised and prosperous nation and England was, he thought, the apex of liberty and prosperity, the English, he reasoned, must be at the forefront of learning and could congratulate themselves for encouraging and cultivating cities capable of sustaining the finest music in the world.

Smith also attempted to assign English songs a characteristic sound. Like the English themselves, he suggested that English songs were 'Grave, rough and bold' in character and style, and, not being overly ornate and elaborate, should be considered essentially masculine in quality.[92] The sound of Scottish songs was of course the primary evidence of their 'ancient' pastoral origins, and, lacking the evidence to make similar claims about English songs, he, like most of his countrymen, gave the issue of 'expression' a wide berth. Whether or not Smith was attempting to suggest that English songs were a hybrid of old and new – ornate, but not too ornate, 'rough and bold' but not unrefined – is unclear.

Regardless of his bombastic efforts, Smith convinced precious few that English song should be regarded as the pinnacle of musical accomplishment. Noticeably, he switched tack, shifting the argument from song culture to music more broadly, before making his claims about English music's international reputation. Indeed, this tended to be the tactic adopted by most English writers across the century. Because English music, by which they meant, in particular, the oratorios of the adopted Handel, could be considered at the forefront of musical learning and taste, English writers played to their strengths and focused less upon songs than their Scottish counterparts.

Charles Burney had his own thoughts and perspectives on the development of the nation's song history and wrote about them fairly extensively in his four-volume *General History of Music* published between 1776 and 1789. He was very accepting of ballads, and mentions that he once edited a nine-volume collection of domestic songs that sold well.[93] Like most Englishmen, his analysis of contemporary music was upbeat and he thought contemporary English music to be in its greatest state of perfection. Music was, for Burney, evidence of civilisation's 'upward' trajectory; it was proof positive that societies progressed.

Burney was therefore highly sceptical of claims that music had been in decline since some distant golden age, Greek or otherwise, and instead suggested that the wondrous accounts of music given by the ancients, could be accounted for by a theory of the improvement of the 'ear'. Instead of taking on claims about the superiority of Scottish songs, he therefore adopted a tactic of ridiculing claims about the properties of songs from less civilised ages. Rude peoples, he argued, were and are more easily impressed and moved by basic sounds than contemporary audiences. Over time people have become accustomed to more intricate and complex sounds

[91] Smith, *A Collection of English Songs,* p.vi.
[92] Smith, *A Collection of English Songs,* p.vii.
[93] Burney, *GHoM,* iv, p.674. I have searched for Burney's song collection, but sadly it seems to have been lost.

and, as a result, 'modern' audiences are harder to please and more demanding than ancient or savage listeners. So it is not that English standards have declined and their music become less powerful, but rather, the expectations of the listeners have been raised up by exposure to ever more intricate and 'artful' music over time; or, as he put it, their musical 'ears' have improved.[94]

However, one problem was that the vast majority of people in Britain, he acknowledged, did not appreciate refined musical art. Being less educated, they preferred the more expressive qualities found in songs.

> For, at present, it is not the most refined and uncommon melody, sung in the most exquisite manner, or the most artificial and complicated harmony, which has the greatest power over the passions of the multitude: on the contrary, the most simple music [songs]...applied to a favourite and popular subject, in which the whole audience can occasionally join, will be more likely to rouse and transport them, than the most delicate or learned performance in an opera, or oratorio.[95]

Burney was certain that English music had improved over time and this, he thought, was something to celebrate. That was why so many of the complex, harmonic principles that underpinned seventeenth-century composition now looked decidedly old-fashioned. That Pepusch's rules of composition looked absurd by the 1760s was a clear sign that society had moved beyond what he called the 'shackles' that hampered 'genius' and 'art' in 'Gothic times'.[96] But, alongside this confidence it is possible to detect a hint of remorse in Burney's analysis. Most of his countrymen were more pleased by songs than, what he judged to be, the far superior musical form of the oratorio.

A sense of progress and refinement was used by other English authors to launch petty tirades against Scottish songs in which they claimed that Scotland's relative levels of civility in the present age meant her song culture was no longer of comparable quality to that produced in her past. 'The genuine...natural song of Scotland', wrote Joseph Ritson, 'lies...not in the works of [James] Thomson, [Tobias] Smollett, or even [Allan] Ramsay; but - in the productions of obscure or anonymous authors, of shepherds and milkmaids, who actually felt the sensations they describe'; In other words, 'only those, who were destitute of all the advantages of science and education'.[97]

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[94] Burney, *GHoM,* i, p.190.
[95] Burney, *GHoM,* i, p.190.
[96] Burney*, GHoM*, iv, p.636.
[97] Joseph Ritson, *A Collection of Scotch Songs, with the Airs,* 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1794), i, p.lxxix.

What Ritson calls 'national song' - the subject of the following chapter - are therefore songs which were produced by the unlearned population of a country. The echoes of Rousseau are faint, but nonetheless detectible in his writings. In line with Rousseau's beliefs that civilised men could not produce rude melodies, Ritson concludes that men from (now) civilised nations like Scotland were no longer capable of composing 'genuine' Scottish songs. So, for example, he attacked the still extremely popular collections of Allan Ramsay for being filtered through a civilised man, who adapted and altered them in line with his learning. This process, he argued, robbed the songs of their pastoral qualities and meant that they could no longer be considered truly 'national' in pedigree. In contrast to the upbeat assessment of the Scot William Tytler, who believed the baton of national genius for producing 'pastoral' melody had been passed to a new generation of Scottish composers, the Englishman Ritson proclaimed the era of powerful Scottish songs to be dead. Progress and refinement had, in effect, killed Scottish expressive melodies and hence Scotland was now stuck with the same problem as the English.

Aside from John Smith's efforts to characterise an English sound, no attempts were made in the eighteenth century to try and identify the specific musical signifiers that might be said to define English song culture. The problem was that, whilst Scottish song was distinctive on account of features such as the gapped scale, English songs lacked strong, defining features in common. And this raised the uncomfortable question as to why Scotland, but not England, had developed so distinctive and powerful a song culture in the first place?

An alarming answer to this solution was proposed by Dr. John Brown, (1715-1766), an English social commentator and moralist, whose primary purpose for writing many of his texts seems to have been to warn his countrymen about their impending decline into immorality and corruption.[98] In his *Dissertation on Poetry and Music* (1763), he began by considering music and poetry 'in the savage state' and the 'effects of civilisation' upon the development of music.[99] His conception of the past was not so much stadial as based around an idea of progress by small steps 'upwards', across long periods of time. 'Savage' life, he wrote, 'where untaught nature rules', was the 'lowest scale of human kind'. In this wretched state, men did little more than express their passions through howling and horrid gestures, but, if we 'ascend a step or two higher', we begin to find a degree of order and proportion and a love of melody appearing. Here, for pleasure alone, barbarous tribes forged a 'natural alliance' of the three 'sister-graces', music, dance and poetry.[100]

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[98] Brown seems to have been one of those mid-eighteenth-century English doom-mongers with a morbid interest in the country's decline. He came to prominence in 1757 when, following the loss of Minorca to the French, he published the *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times,* which went on to become a bestseller. The book was essentially an attack upon the luxuriousness and effeminacy of the ruling classes, whose idleness and lack of a sense of civic duty would surely lead to England's downfall at the hands of France. For an overview of the affair see, Crimmins, James. E. 'John Brown' in *ODNB,* (online, accessed, 04/04/2010).

[99] Brown, *A Dissertation*, p.27.

[100] Brown, *A Dissertation*, pp.27-29.

From this state of ignorance, he suggests, 'let us suppose, as a cause or consequence of civilisation, the use of letters should come amongst' people. Songs would then be transformed dramatically and as a result of this new knowledge a series of progressive steps would be set in motion**.** This, he argued, is precisely what happened in ancient Greece, where music and poetry first evolved in harmony, alongside one another.[101] Once a civilised knowledge of music was established amongst the Greeks it could then spread to less enlightened neighbours. This 'flight' of poetry and song carried knowledge of these developments from Greece to Rome, and from there, on to Germany and France. Finally, this learning was disseminated across all of Europe. Up until this point Brown's thesis would seem to be an 'orthodox' account of the spread and progress of learning in Europe. However, Brown's subject was not music as 'art' but was instead song cultures and, as a result, he needed to explain how and why songs were in a greater state of perfection in countries such as Scotland, as opposed to, say, Italy. To do this he inserted a large caveat into his model on the dissemination of learning.

There is, he suggests, reason to believe that the quality of songs degenerated in ancient Rome, and that it remains in a poor state across much of Europe in the present day. Partly, in keeping with his central thesis, Brown suggests that this is because of the disunion between poetry and music, but it is also, he argues, because as civilisation spreads, its 'colonies', by which he means the countries that have in some way inherited knowledge from an older civilisation, have not been through all the successive steps of progress from wanton savagery to refined learning.[102] Rome, he suggests, was, in its knowledge of their music and poetry, a colony of Greece and it will always be the case that colonies 'will in general be found to possess' melody, dance and song 'in a very imperfect state'. He arrives at this conclusion, by drawing upon Rousseau to argue that song and melody are the 'natural effects of savage manners continuing through several Ages' and, because colonies are 'not sent out until that early period is past', they lack the same 'ability or inclination' to 'propagate these Arts'. As a result, enthusiasm in song is quenched and the 'inferior ranks', being busy establishing the colony, lack the time that their savage ancestors had to pursue the creation of such raw, impassioned melodies.[103] In other words, Brown makes the extraordinary claim that, when it comes to song cultures, there are a limited number of nations with a native and 'ancient' song culture, and that the remained of countries are somehow 'colonies' that have skipped the 'pastoral' stage of development by borrowing from their older, neighbouring countries.

Building up to answering the vital question, Brown uses these arguments to demonstrate why certain contemporary nations have a unique song culture, whilst others

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[101] Brown, *A Dissertation*, pp.26-98.
[102] Texts warning readers of the dangers inherent in separating music from poetry became more numerous in the 1760s. Remove the words, they argued, and music became senseless and unable to convey clear meaning. Aside from Brown see, for example, Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), who argued that melody should be 'expressive' of the 'sentiment that is conveyed by the words', in his *Elements of Criticism,* 3 vols. (Edinburgh: 1762), i, p.166.
[103] Brown, *A Dissertation,* esp. pp.182-184.

seemingly do not. He rationalised that only countries whose inhabitants had remained on their native soil since their ancestors were savages, which was when song culture, according to Rousseau, was born, will have a passionate, melodious, and distinct sound to their music. And this leads him to conclude that, as the 'Irish, Welsh and Scots [the Celts] are strictly *natives* [they] accordingly have a music of *their own'*, whereas, by contrast, 'the *English…*are a foreign mixture of late established colonies; and, as a consequence of this, have *no native music'*.[104]

Rather like Goldsmith, Brown therefore assumes that English song culture must have been imported, most likely from her ancient neighbouring countries. Unlike Goldsmith, Brown does not make the parent/offspring connection between Scotland and England explicit, but he does go on to say that Scottish airs are 'the truest model of artless, pathetic musical Expression that can be found in the whole compass of the Art'.[105] They are both devoid of learning, he thinks, and, because of this, extremely moving. They were simply too 'ancient' and too powerfully affecting to be anything other than 'native'.

North of the Tweed the impact of Brown's *Dissertation* was almost immediate. Shorty after the *Dissertation* was published, Dr. John Gregory revised and updated his Rousseauan *Comparative State* to include several pages arguing for the superiority of Scottish song. Far from being embarrassed by the antiquity and 'savagery' of Scotland's native culture, Gregory draws upon Rousseau, Avison and Brown to contrast it favourably with that of England.

> Dr. Brown very ingeniously observes, that most countries peopled by *colonies*, which, after a certain period of civilisation, have issued from their native soil, possess, no characteristic Music of their own; that the Irish, Welsh and Scotch are strictly natives, and accordingly have a music of their own; that the English, on the contrary, are a foreign mixture of lately established colonies, and as a consequence of this have no native Music.[106]

By contrast, he argued that Scotland's musical pedigree was ancient, and as a result the music still carried the simplicity of ancient melodies within. English society was too young and its people too transient for a distinct musical custom to have developed. It was also sufficiently different to the Celtic Irish and Scottish song cultures to be related and so Gregory concludes that 'the original Music of England must be sought for in Wales'.[107] Not only was England's song culture not as expressive as that of Scotland, it was not even English, for the

[104] Brown, *A Dissertation,* p.184. The italics are by Brown.
[105] Brown, *A Dissertation.* p.200.
[106] Gregory, *Comparative View,* pp.152-53.
[107] Gregory, *Comparative View,* pp.152-3.

English did not, indeed, because of their hybrid (multi-ethnic) make-up, could not have a song culture of their own.

But whilst Gregory's account was generally reserved, the *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* (which appeared in two editions, in 1769 and 1776) of David Herd discharged both barrels and with uncloaked patriotism attempted to demonstrate the superiority of Scottish culture over the English. Like many of his countrymen he found the idea of England's relative cultural poverty to be highly appealing.

Songs, he argued, existed as reservoirs of cultural and political information about our ancestors. However, a lineage could only be traced, he noted with the English firmly in his sights, in 'every nation, at least every ancient and un-mixed nation', for only amongst peoples 'native' to these isles could a 'peculiar style of musical expression', with a 'peculiar mode of melody', develop. He lists nations that have a discernible sound to their songs, and runs through from the ancient Greeks, to contemporary Italian, Spanish, Irish and Scottish societies. But when the list finishes, the English are conspicuously missing.[108]

Scottish pride and English discomfort:

In the second half of the eighteenth century songs became an important and prominent feature in constructing and recovering the national past. They were not, as they were in 1711 when Joseph Addison tentatively ventured a few thoughts on *Chevy Chase*, a source of mild curiosity and widespread intellectual contempt, but the basis of a booming industry of recovery, imitation and publication; so much so, that there was a great temptation, irresistible to some, to produce forgeries. The age, origin and qualities of songs were fought over, sometimes heatedly, because they were fast becoming a pillar of Scottish identity.

The relationship between the past and the present was by no means easy on either side of the Tweed. For some, such as Dr. Gregory, William Tytler or David Herd, these songs were, even if not as old as the ballads Macpherson claimed to have found, a link between a bucolic, purely Scottish and Celtic past and the present. They provided Scots with a sense of their history which, as Dr. Gregory pointed out, made them a people with a distant link to a land of their own and not, like the English, a 'mixed-race', whose ancestry was diluted by all manner of newcomers.[109] For many Scottish writers, the revival of interest in the pastoral offered an opportunity to explain why Scottish songs were more popular, and why they were widely perceived to be superior to English songs.

The notion that England was a cultural 'colony' denied her songs the privilege of melodic, expressive qualities that were now exclusively associated with nations whose cultural lineage could be traced back to the 'savage' state. This left English writers of song histories,

[108] Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs,* i, p.v.
[109] This was the point of Daniel Defoe's satire *The True Born Englishman,* back in 1701.

men such as Thomas Percy and John Stafford Smith, with a distinct sense of discomfort. They could claim no musically discernible culture of their own and so, they looked only to the recent past, to songs, or more broadly to music, written within the past few centuries and claimed that their greater refinement, their closer adherence to the rules of 'art', made them superior. But it remained inescapable that Scottish song had a more discernible sound, and had a far greater wealth of material, than the English. On the one hand, this was ammunition to snipe at the Scots and suggest that Scotland was relatively closer to the 'savage' state than England. For if an oral culture filled with 'ancient' songs did exist in parts of Scotland (and of course many Englishmen pointed to the highlands), then it simply proved what a 'rude' place much of Scotland continued to be. On the other hand, the presence of a discernible, definable, and arguably traceable culture, of superiority in melodic quality and of great age, made English writers feel at best, uncomfortable, and, in the case of Joseph Ritson, insecure and liable to lash out.

Despite the prevailing sense of progress in this period and despite the undoubted unease that this caused many of Scotland's men of letters, song culture is at least one area, where the notion of cultural repression linked to English standards of progress, simply doesn't apply. It was overwhelmingly not the case that Scots cringed with embarrassment when writing about or hearing performed their native melodies. Arguably, the reason for this historical assumption becoming orthodoxy is, because of a tendency to privilege certain cultural forms above others. For whilst there is certainly highly compelling evidence to suggest that, across the eighteenth century, many Englishmen and some Scots judged the English dialect superior to the Scots dialect, as song culture demonstrates, this supposed relationship of superiority/inferiority was by no means the case in other areas of cultural debate.

Certain areas of Scottish culture, we might therefore conclude, were thought by Scottish writers to be beyond judgement by English standards of progress and, as a result, came to function as pillars upon which a sense of Scottishness could be both anchored and constructed. In the constellation of ideas and institutions that are drawn upon to establish a sense of nationhood, certain points or institutions can become focal points, broadly accepted by many as areas of relative stability, and during the second half of the eighteenth century, Scottish song culture became one such rallying point - a prominent star in the nebulous constellation of Scottishness. With a confidence in their song culture established, it fell to Scottish thinkers to try and understand why Scottish culture sounded so distinct, and to do this, they sought out a direct link between the sound of Scottish songs and the Scottish landscape. They deployed, what can be termed, 'naturalism' to argue that, not only was Scottish song more 'pure' than English song, it was more closely linked to the national landscape and the nation's people.

Chapter five: Conceptualising the 'nation' through 'national songs', c.1750-1800

Amongst Scottish, and some English writers of the second half of the eighteenth century, the phrase 'national song' loosely described the observation that, as James Beattie (1735-1803) put it, 'there is a certain style of melody peculiar to each musical country, which the people of that country are apt to prefer to every other style'.[1] An anecdote, often repeated in writings of the period, but almost certainly first written down by Rousseau, helps to elaborate upon the meaning. There was, so Rousseau tells us, a Swiss song, *Ranz des Vaches,* that was so 'generally beloved amongst the Swiss, that it was forbidden [by the French] to be play'd amongst their [Swiss] troops on pain of death'. The reason for this, he explained, was 'because it made them burst into tears, desert, or die...so great a desire did it excite in them to return to their country'.[2] From this, undoubtedly hyperbolic, account we can see that 'national song' described the particular musical sound (derived from the rhythms and accents and other melodic or harmonic characteristics) that was perceived to be 'peculiar' to (almost) every nation and that was thought to have considerable powers to affect the passions of natives.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, interest in national songs was stimulated by a number of factors. For one, across the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, greater contact with a range of global cultures created a growing awareness of the diversity of national musical sounds. Accounts appeared presenting and analysing music from China, the indigenous tribes of North America, and the varied sounds found across Europe and the Middle East.[3] As we have already seen, Rousseau's notion that songs originated amongst primitive peoples from the natural cadences of speech, gained considerable ground amongst British writers of the second half of the century. People were also influenced by the idea, put forward by Dr. Brown, that distinct national styles were to be found only amongst peoples who had remained indigenous to one specific geographical location, and whose song culture had

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[1] James Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music*, p.176.

[2] Rousseau included this story in writings from the 1760s onwards. Here, however, I am referencing from the essay included in the 1775 English translation of his dictionary. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *A Dictionary of Music* (London: 1775), pp.266-67. The anecdote was repeated by numerous authors of the time. See for example, John Brown's retelling of the same tale in his *Dissertation,* p.75.

[3] See for example, Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy,* (London: T. Beckett, 1771) and his *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces,* 2 vols. (London: T. Beckett and co. 1773); Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) gave descriptions of music performed in Turkey, in Prague, and in Vienna, in her, *The Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: Written during her Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa* (Paris: 1779), pp. 43, 58, 135; Dr. Burney's *General History* contains some account of Chinese music, which he is said to have discussed with a Dr. Lind (probably Dr. James Lind, a Scottish physician, 1716-1794), and which Lind thought was striking for its similarity to Scottish songs! *GHoM,* i, p.38; Rousseau and many other writers commented on Native American music. On this and on the influences Native American songs had upon European music see, Olivia Bloechl, *Native American Song at the Frontiers of Early Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.177-221; Britons on the 'grand tour' also made frequent visits to musical events and passed information about different musical styles back to Britain. See, Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1992), pp.40, 44, 252-60.

remained untouched by 'foreign' influences since the savage state. Combined, these ideas essentially explained the origins and continued presence of powerfully affecting song cultures amongst certain nations (or regions) of the world, but they did not explain why individual 'national' song cultures had specific, characteristic sounds. Nor did they explain why 'national' songs were capable of rousing the passions of 'natives', whilst leaving foreign listeners cold. The answers to both of these questions lay in contemporary understanding of 'nature' and human nature.

This chapter is therefore concerned with attempts by eighteenth-century writers to explain the unique sounds of national song cultures and with the implications such thinking had for the concept of the 'nation'. In addition, this chapter considers efforts to understand the links between a nation's song culture and the peculiar effects native songs were said to have upon the passions of indigenous peoples. Much of the writing on the subject of national song took place in Scotland and it is Scottish national song, particularly the explorations undertaken by Dr. James Beattie, that are the primary focus of this chapter. Conceptualising the relationships between two things as abstract as the 'nation' and music was no easy task. As a result, most of the discussions on the subject took place through metaphor, where similarities could be established between the sounds of songs and the characteristics of a country's landscape or climate. However, because 'the land' and 'the music' were conceptualised in a relationship between human beings and the natural world, these discussions also necessitated consideration of the relationships between, on the one hand, musical sounds and the mind, and on the other, the human body and the natural landscape. This chapter argues that this complex chain of links led eighteenth-century writers to conceive of the 'nation' (and by extension nationhood) as a 'natural' phenomenon.

I therefore suggest that contemporaries not only observed the phenomenon of national song, they sought to explain it and to do so, they turned to prevailing systems of thought on the body and the effects of climate and environment upon human temperament and character.[4] Knowledge formed about physical nature was used to think about human nature and an understanding of the systematic relationships between the physiological and man's environment were used to explain the particular sounds and powers of national song. Writers then used this knowledge in a social context to add a naturalistic dimension to their explanations of societies and cultures. As we shall see, it was reasoned that these distinct sounds were linked to the national character of the 'indigenous' people. In turn, this national character was thought, at

[4] Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Sex and Gender' in *Inventing Human Science in Eighteenth-Century Domains,* (ed.) by Christopher Fox, Roy Porter and Robert Wokler, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1995), pp.152-183; On the systematic relationships between the human body and 'nature' see, Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Earth science and environmental medicine: The synthesis of the late Enlightenment' in *Images of the Earth: Essays in the History of the Environmental Sciences* (ed.) by Ludmilla Jordanova and Roy Porter, 2nd edition (British Society for the History of Science Monograph Series, 1997; orig. 1979), pp.127-51; Roger Smith, *The Fontana History of the Human Sciences,* (London: Fontana, 1997), pp.272, 297, particularly his analysis of Buffon's *L'Histoire Naturelle de l'homme* (1749) and the writings of Adam Ferguson.

least in part, to have been shaped by the natural environment.[5] Because of their influences upon the human body, the links between national character, temperament and the 'natural' world were often conceptualised (for humoral and Galenic reasons) in terms of temperature (hotness or coldness), weather, climate, or landscape. For reasons of clarity, all mention of weather or degrees of hotness or coldness in this chapter will, henceforth, be grouped as features of climate; whereas, I will use the term 'environment' to incorporate both landscape (natural and manmade) and climate and so mean, broadly, the 'natural' and the social surroundings and conditions in which people operated.

As we know, in the eighteenth century the relationships between the environment and the body were given new vitality and greater significance.[6] To some extent this relationship was, prior to the eighteenth century, already deeply embedded in ways of thinking. We can see this in discourse from the second half of the eighteenth century where the environment was called upon to explain a wide range of phenomena stretching from regional and national variations in character, to tastes, customs, prosperity and culture. For example, when David Hume expressed his initial doubts about the age and relative levels of 'refinement' found within the Ossian poems, he mentioned, almost in passing, that such poetry would, of course, have come from a 'rough climate'.[7] When Hugh Blair was discussing the commonality of 'genius' to all mankind, he too mentioned, without feeling the need to explain such a statement, that variety in musical styles arose due to the effects of 'climate', as much as anything.[8] Charles Burney thought that 'men will always be found to be in some degree assimilated to the climate in which they live: Nor can it be ascribed to any other cause, that in the several nations of the world...we behold so wide a difference, in complexion, features, manners and customs'.[9] Adam Ferguson considered there to be a definite link between the moral and material advancement of nations and the relative geographical and climatic variations.[10] And when William Jones (1746-1794), one of England's first 'orientalists', was discussing middle-eastern poetry he explained that 'it is certain, that the genius of every nation is not a little affected by their climate; for...it has always been remarked, that the *Asiaticks* excel the inhabitants of our colder regions in the liveliness of their fancy, and the richness of their invention'.[11]

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[5] See for example, discussions of weather in eighteenth-century England in Jan Golinski's, *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), esp. pp.1-76.

[6] Roy Porter, 'Medical Science and Human Science in the Enlightenment', in *Inventing Human Science,* pp.53-87.

[7] David Hume, Letter published in the *Universal Magazine* (London: 1784), p.327.

[8] Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*, pp.5-6.

[9] Burney, *GHoM,* i, p.176.

[10] Music did not feature heavily in Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). However, in his description of 'man the animal', he finds that there is a direct correlation between the diversification of 'temper, complexion and character...[and] a variety of genius', and the 'different climates' he has occupied. Although he does not reference him directly, the influence of Montesquieu's thinking is clear. Adam Ferguson, *Essay on the History of Civil Society,* (Edinburgh: 1767), pp.165-185

[11] William Jones, *Poems Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages. To Which are Added Two Essays,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1772), pp.180-181.

As we shall see, the characteristic sounds of Scottish song were explained by linking aspects of the natural environment to the characteristic sounds of Scottish songs. But, for answers to the question of why national songs exerted such an influence over natives and not foreigners, a range of Scottish writers turned to a newly articulated sense of 'custom', developed predominantly in the writings of Adam Smith (1723-1790). Breaking with the prevailing sense of 'independent' standards (either divine or 'natural') that informed aesthetic judgements (such as a sense of beauty), Smith, and those who followed him, began to suggest that taste, including a taste for 'national' culture, was socially relative. In other words, they came to see the norms and customs that were inherent to one's particular society as shaping 'aesthetic' judgements.[12] The discussions about national song therefore combined older (albeit freshly nuanced) knowledge about man's relationship with the environment and more recent thinking about the social relativity of aesthetic judgements.

This chapter begins then, with some consideration of the writings of two seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century thinkers, namely Athanasius Kircher (c.1602-1680) and Charles-Louis de Secondat (1689-1755), more commonly known as Montesquieu, both of whom influenced discussions on national song during the second half of the eighteenth century. Focus will then shift to consider the explanations offered for the effects of national song upon natives. Then finally we will consider the links imagined between 'nature' and the distinctive sound of Scottish song within, in particular, the writings of James Beattie. This chapter then concludes with some thoughts of what the discussions of national song can tell us about the idea of national identity in the second half of the eighteenth century.

However, before proceeding to consider the origins of thinking on 'national song', I must, for reasons of clarity, address the rather unhelpful deployment of the term 'national song' within twentieth- and twenty-first century historical and musicological discourse. The term, as I have begun to explain, was used by thinkers of the mid-to-late eighteenth century to describe what they perceived to be an empirical, observable phenomenon; namely, that people living in different parts of the world frequently had established song cultures with discernibly different sounds. As a concept the idea was discussed by a broad range of British writers, although, as mentioned, the majority of the significant writings on the topic were penned by Scottish philosophers, who turned their attention towards scrutinising their society and, in the process, incorporated songs - a prominent feature of their cultural landscape - into their thinking on a range of subjects, from the body, to the environment, and, as we have already seen in chapter four, to social progress and debates surrounding 'art' versus 'nature'.

Yet since 1966 the term 'national song' (sometimes 'national music') has been assigned a very different meaning. Beginning with Francis Collinson in his *Traditional and National*

[12] Sociologists would refer to this process as 'socialisation'. The term 'socialisation' was deployed by Robert Heilbroner to describe, specifically, the economic dimensions to Smith's thinking on morality. Here, I am using it much more broadly. See Heilbroner's, 'The Socialization of the Individual in Adam Smith', *History of Political Economy,* Vol. 14, No. 3 (1982), 427-439.

Music of Scotland and continued by David Johnson and writers up to the present day, the term has been defined in opposition to what have been labelled 'traditional', or sometimes interchangeably, 'folk' songs.[13] Within scholarly discourse the term 'folk' is typically used to mean songs from and within the oral culture.[14] By contrast 'national' songs are, to quote David Johnson's definition from his historical survey of lowland Scottish music in the eighteenth century, 'a kind of pseudo-folk song, designed for a genteel class of people who regard real folk songs as crude and beneath their attention'.[15] In other words, the term is used to describe any song from the oral culture that was altered, or presumably 'forged', by eighteenth-century publishers or musicians to make it conform to contemporary musical tastes and social conventions.[16] Within recent scholarship the phrase is therefore used to categorise what might more helpfully be labelled as the process of publishers and songwriters making Scottish (and as I have shown in chapter two, English) songs more 'polite' for middling and elite consumption.[17]

David Johnson likens 'national' songs to an old spade being given a new blade and then a new handle, so that finally it bears only a passing resemblance to the original tool. 'National songs' are therefore held to be songs that have been given new (presumably, less rude) words, and then altered melodies (perhaps more ornate and elaborate, echoing prevailing tastes for the Italian), and perhaps given a conventional accompaniment and bass, until finally, following decades of alteration, the piece is almost new. The term 'national' has been assigned to categorise songs of this nature because, to quote Johnson again, they contained (or had added) 'the feelings of tradition and national identity which other people express through the oral tradition' but which a 'genteel class of people' would only engage with once sufficiently distanced from the oral tradition. They were, in short, patriotic pieces. One senses with Johnson, as with many other writers on Scottish song, that the idea of 'national songs', defined in this

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[13] Collinson writes, 'The traditional music will naturally include all the indigenous *folk* music of Scotland...It should *exclude* the obvious importations of English folk-songs', however, songs 'composed, or "patched" from old songs, *expressly for publication*...may be appropriately be called national rather than traditional songs'. See Collinson's, *The Tradition and National Music of Scotland,* pp.1-2.

[14] The term 'folk music' comes down to us from the late nineteenth century, and the era of, what musicologists often term, the 'First British Folk Revival'. The key figures and publications included Cecil Sharp (1859-1924), whose *English Folk Song,* 4th edition (London: Mercury Books, 1907; 1965) was the first study of 'folk' music. See also Francis Child's (1825-1896) eight-volume *English and Scottish Popular Ballads,* published between 1882 and 1892. It is interesting to note that when Francis Collinson and David Johnson were writing in the late 1960s and early 1970s the 'Second Folk Revival' was underway; For a 'revisionist' discussion of the term 'folk' and for shifts and debates within the field of folksong studies, see C. J. Bearman, 'Who Were the Folk? The Demography of Cecil Sharp's Somerset Folk Singers', *Historical Journal,* Issue. 43, No.3, (2001), 751-775.

[15] Collinson, *The Tradition and National Music of Scotland,* pp. 1-3; Johnson, *Music and Society in Lowland,* pp.130-149.

[16] The term 'national song' is still used by most historians and musicologists in the sense defined by Collinson. Some examples include, Penelope Gouk, 'Music's Pathological and Therapeutic on the Body Politic' in *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music and Medicine* (ed.) by Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p.198; Claire Nelson's 'Tea-Table Miscellanies', p.598; Also, Henry Farmer, who distinguishes between 'traditional' songs, by which he means songs passed by oral/aural tradition, and 'national' songs, which (due to Collinson's influence) he defines as Scottish songs in print. *History of Music in Scotland,* pp.1-3.

[17] They were made more 'polite' by dint of being made less 'rude', either by the removal of potentially offensive lyrics, or by the adding of accompaniments or (often Italianate) harmonies.

way, is helpful in tracing and clearing a path towards the 'nationalistically' inspired works of Scotland's most famous poet and song collector Robert Burns (1759-1796). This design can be seen when, at the conclusion of his chapter on 'National Songs', Johnson suggests that Burns's greatest achievement was, to reach 'a centre-of-the-road position' by 'recombining organically' both 'traditional' and 'national songs'.[18]

My intention here is not to challenge the very real phenomenon of the refinement of songs as they were transferred from the oral culture into print, nor is it to suggest that songs were not used for patriotic purposes - if anything my thesis demonstrates and expands upon both of these themes. I wish instead to point out that the term 'national song', as currently used, does not ring true on account of its artificial simplicity. As we have seen in previous chapters, both altered (that is made polite) *and* unaltered songs were used by a wide variety of people for patriotic purposes. There is nothing to justify the application of the word 'national' to these songs, except perhaps a teleological imperative to find antecedents for the 'romanticised', 'nationalistic' song cultures of the nineteenth century. Contemporary writers of the eighteenth century were well aware that songs were undergoing alterations as they were processed from oral into print culture. The author of a *Historical Essay on Scottish Songs* (1794), Joseph Ritson, complained bitterly about the ingenious but undesirable practice of updating old songs to conform to the latest fashions. He thought these national songs (which he clearly uses to mean distinctly native in style and sound), to be 'natural' expressions produced by people without learning and uncorrupted by fashions. They had 'the advantages which the beautiful peasant, in her homespun russet, has over the fine town lady, patched, powdered...[and] in all the frippery of fashion'. But, they were being filtered through 'modern' hands (and here he points the finger at Allan Ramsay and his song collections) and thereby altered in accordance with the rules of 'art'. They were, he concludes adamantly, no longer 'national songs'.[19] In other words, national songs, as he and his contemporaries understood the term, were the antithesis of the altered melodies erroneously labelled as 'national songs' by Collinson and Johnson. Ultimately then, 'national song' appears within contemporary historical discourse as a retrospectively assigned term that masks complexity within the past and sits uncomfortably at odds with its function and definition within enlightenment discourse. Part of the intention of this chapter is, therefore, to challenge the 'orthodox' use of the term 'national song' and to suggest that a distinction be made between the process of making songs 'polite' and the term 'national song' as it was understood and used by those in the eighteenth century.

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[18] At one point Johnson manages to become tangled up in this adopted phraseology. For example, when discussing Robert Burns, he writes, 'The first kind of national song he got to know must have been oral folk-song'. It is possible that Johnson means that a young Burns became acquainted with publications containing songs from the oral culture that had been made polite for consumption, but having already staked out a careful distinction between 'folk' and 'national' songs by this point, such a statement becomes contradictory and only serves to highlight how unhelpful these definitions are. Johnson, *Music and Society,* p.147.

[19] Joseph Ritson, 'A Historical Essay on Scottish Song', in *Scottish Songs: A Collection of Scotch songs, with the airs,* 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1794), i, esp. pp. lxxv-lxxix.

Having hopefully cleared a path towards a recasting of the term 'national song' in the eighteenth-century mould, we can begin to consider in greater detail what this phenomenon meant to enlightenment writers. To do so we need to consider the intellectual heritage that underpinned their understanding of the ways in which music was connected to 'nature', and this requires some consideration of the arguments of Athanasius Kircher and Montesquieu.

Kircher and Montesquieu:

In 1650 the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher published the *Musurgia Universalis,* a text that went on to become one of the most significant publications on music in the seventeenth century. The range of subjects covered by the *Musurgia* is extraordinary, and includes the construction of musical instruments, the qualities of bird song, and the physiology of hearing. Kircher was particular concerned with mathematical proportions and the idea that the universality of music pointed towards divine ratios governing the cosmos. His work, like so many of his contemporaries', was located 'between the vibrant world of nature and the celestial choir'.[20]

However, of particular interest to us here was Kircher's thinking on the correlations between temperament and musical styles.[21] Whilst we cannot know for certain how many philosophers of the late eighteenth century were familiar with Kircher's thoughts – some, for example Daniel Webb, did acknowledge him explicitly in their writings – we can, as Penelope Gouk has noted, nonetheless trace a definite linkage between Kircher's ideas and various intellectual themes prevalent in eighteenth-century writings.[22] In his 'Inquiry V' Kircher wrote, 'My first proposition is that the customary style of music in any one place follows from the natural temperament of its people and their constitution, which is particular to one region'. We know this to be true, he observes, because of the many examples we see in the world around us; 'The Italians have a melodic style different from the Germans, these differ from the Italians and the French. The French and Italians differ from the Spanish, and the English have I know not what strangeness'. In sum, 'for each natural *temperament* there is an appropriate style according to the customs of the nation'. [23]

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[20] Linda Austern was describing the general attitudes of natural philosophers writing on music around the turn of the seventeenth century, but her words are no less accurate when applied to Kircher. See, Linda Phyllis Austern, ''Tis' Nature's Voice': Music, Natural Philosophy and the Hidden World in Seventeenth-Century England', in, *Music Theory and Natural Order from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century* (ed.) by Suzannah Clark and Alexander Rehding (Cambridge: C.U.P, 2001), p.31.

[21] The text occurs in Volume 1, Book 7 of the *Musurgia Universalis* (1650). Here, however, I am working from an English translation found in *Source Readings in Music History,* (ed.) by Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler, revised edition (London and New York; W. W. Norton & Company, 1998; orig. 1952), pp.708-711.

[22] Gouk considers Kircher's account of the 'Doctrine of Affections' in relation to Dr. John Gregory's writing of the 1760s. Penelope Gouk, 'Music's Pathological and Therapeutic Effects on the Body Politic' in *Representing Emotions,* (2005), p.198; For Kircher's influence on seventeenth-century English discourse see, Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic,* pp.101-107.

[23] Strunk, *Source Readings,* p.708. Italics are my own.

The question then becomes how to account for these differences? Kircher goes on to explain that 'this very difference in musical style cannot come from anywhere else except either from the spirit of the place and natural tendency, or from custom maintained by long standing habit, finally becoming nature' (here, by 'nature', he means something akin to unconscious habit). To elucidate he provides an example: 'The Germans for the most part are born under a frozen sky and acquire a temperament that is serious, strong, constant, solid and toilsome, to which qualities their music conforms...thus from natural propensity they choose...a style that is serious, moderate, sober, and choral'.[24] He then applies the same logic to the 'cheerful' and 'lively', but 'changeable' French, and the Italians, who, living in the 'most temperate clime', produce the most tasteful music of all.[25]

However, as he observes, music in one particular national style is often unpleasing to foreign ears. This can be explained, he theorises, firstly on account of patriotism, by an 'inordinate affection to both nation and country', which leads people to express a preference for music from their homeland above all others. But more importantly, it must have something to do with 'the opposing styles of their innate character', by which he means the differences in temperaments – the 'changeable French, the 'solid' Germans – which characterise each nation. His premise is that people of certain temperaments have a 'natural' affinity for certain musical sounds. Hence, we can observe that 'the melancholy find pleasure in [musical] settings that are grave, dense, and mournful...[whilst] The Choleric, because of the force of bubbling bile, have an appetite for' the 'hyporchematic' style.[26] Hence, the character of people in a particular nation corresponds to their preference for musical sounds.

Linking the effects of hotness and coldness to particular human characteristics was by no means original to Kircher. Hippocrates had theorised on the relationships between the seasons and the differences between the 'European races', as had Galen.[27] However, Kircher devoted relatively little space to the topic in his *Musurgia,* and the links he imagines are explained in little detail. His thoughts on environment were limited to comments about hot or frozen climates and the effects of these temperatures upon the inhabitants of different nations was implied rather than explored or explained. However, Montesquieu would explore the links between human physiology and the environment in greater detail. In Book XIV of his *Spirit of the Laws,* the primary purpose of which was to try and determine standards by which laws

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[24] Kircher uses the term 'choose', but he almost certain did not mean it as a conscious decision. Strunk, *Source Readings,* p.709.
[25] Strunk, *Source Readings,* p.710.
[26] The term 'hyporchematic' is now obsolete. The nearest relation in contemporary musical discourse would probably be chromatic, which refers to either the modification of a scale by the insertion of accidentals, or progressing in a scale by semitones. By adding the prefix 'hyper', Kircher evidently means a lively, agitated and varied style of music (that makes use of semi-tones). Strunk, *Source Readings,* pp.710-711.
[27] Hippocrates, *On Airs, Water and Places,* (Kessinger Publishing, 2004), p.30; For an overview Hippocrates and of other Greek and Roman authors who touched upon this relationship, see, Genevieve Miller, '"Air, Water and Places" in History', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* Vol. 17, No. 1, (1962), 129-140.

might be judged, Montesquieu considered the relations between the nature of the laws, the form of government, the manners and customs of a nation, and the climate.[28] He argued that differences in climate are, at least partly, responsible for the different experiences of sensations. So, people who live in warm climates experience sensations to a greater degree than those who live in colder climates. As a result of this, 'In cold countries they have very little sensibility for pleasures', whilst in 'temperate countries they have more' and in 'warm countries their sensibility is exquisite'.[29] Like latitudes, he writes, we can therefore distinguish between nations by their degrees of sensibility.

Montesquieu arrives at these conclusions because of the effects that he perceived temperature as having upon the physical body: In the *Spirit of Laws,* he explained,

> Cold air, constringes the extremities of the external fibres
> of the body; This increases their elasticity, and favours
> the return of the blood from the extremities to
> the heart. It contracts those very fibres; consequently
> it increases also their force. On the contrary a warm
> air relaxes and lengthens the extremes of the fibres;
> of course it diminishes their force and elasticity.[30]

As a result, 'people are more vigorous in cold climates'. The blood moves more freely to the heart and the result is a people who are bold, courageous, frank and honest.[31] In northern nations, he argues, they have large bodies but little vivacity. Because of the relatively relaxed or tightened state of their nerve endings, people of different regions will experience sensations more or less acutely. Or, as he puts it,

> The nerves that terminate in all parts of the cutis [the skin],
> form each a bundle of nerves...In warm climates, where
> the cutis is relaxed, the ends of the nerves are opened and
> exposed to the smallest actions of the very weakest objects.
> In cold countries the cutis is constringed, and the
> papillea [sic] compressed; the miliary glands are in some
> measure paralytic; the sensation does not reach the brain

[28] Originally published in France in 1748, the *Spirit of the Laws* was translated into English in 1750. In the 1750 English translation, the words used are the 'character of the mind' and the 'passions of the heart'. Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws, Translated from the French of M. Baron de Montesquieu,* 2 vols. (London: 1750), i, pp.316-335; The idea that climate could affect temperament and forms of government is hinted at, but never fully explored, in Montesquieu's earlier publication, the *Persian Letters, Translated by Mr. Ozell,* 2 vols. (London: 1722), ii, pp.178, 204.
[29] Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws,* p.319.
[30] Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws,* p.316.
[31] Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws,* p.317.

> but when it is very strong and proceeds from the whole nerve at once. Now imagine, taste, sensibility, and vivacity, depend on an infinite number of small sensations.[32]

Climate was therefore directly involved in determining the temperaments of inhabitants and their 'sensibility' towards pleasures and stimulation. Applying notions of 'sensibility' to questions of musical taste, he argues that the colder the environment, the less sensitive the inhabitants. Hence, people from a cold land struggle to experience, and therefore to appreciate, musical cultures originating from peoples who inhabit warmer climes. This, he explains, is why, 'the English' respond coldly and indifferently to the same operas that 'transport' the more sensitive Italians.[33]

Climate was thought, for humoral and, as Montesquieu explained, for other, more mechanistic physiological reasons, to affect levels of sensitivity, which in turn was used to explain supposed differences in temperament between peoples of different nations. Thinkers in eighteenth-century Britain were influenced, directly or obliquely, by these links, and built upon (or simply reiterated) these connections to explain the particular sounds of national song culture and the relationships between songs and national character. However, unlike Montesquieu, these authors were not concerned with linking music and the humors. Some efforts were made to link the mechanistic relationships between the vibrations of sound and the fibres of the human body, but, in the second half of the eighteenth century, these were limited in scope and number.[34] More significantly, as we shall see in the writings of James Beattie, a more impressionistic sense of the influence of climate and landscape upon the 'mind' of the composer (in some other writings, the soul, for the 'divine' still featured prominently in much intellectual discourse) was used to explain how a song could be considered 'expressive' of the Scottish landscape (without being imitative).

<u>The influence of association:</u>

Before considering these ideas further, let us focus upon contemporary explanations for the extraordinary powers attributed to national songs. To do this, let us return to Kircher's comment that certain musical styles were popular within a society due to 'custom maintained by long standing habit'. Kircher thought that certain national styles were popular amongst natives, partly because of patriotism, but primarily because of familiarity attained through established practice. But this raised an important question, for if judgements about the quality of a cultural product could vary between societies, regardless of the perceived merits or failings of that product, then

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[32] Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws,* p.318.
[33] Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws,* pp.318-20.
[34] One writer who did try to explain the effects of music mechanically was Daniel Webb. See his *Observation on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music,* pp.2-6.

what did this say about the supposed universality of 'innate' qualities, such as 'beauty'? It was, for example known that Native American music was observed to be highly pleasing and much loved by the indigenous people, but was judged by some to be barely tolerable to the European ear.[35] This music was produced by people thought to be closer to the savage state, and must therefore have been more expressive of the human passions. But, if the human passions were universal then why was Native American song not, as was so often remarked about Scottish song, naturally pleasing to all mankind?

To answer such questions eighteenth-century philosophers took several, often overlapping and interrelated, paths. A useful overview of the various approaches to thinking about music in the eighteenth century was provided by the scholar and musician Thomas Twining (c.1734-1804) who suggested that all discourse on the effects of music upon mankind followed three avenues of investigation. These divisions are useful because, broadly speaking, writings on national songs fell into one, two, or all three of these categories. Twining's divisions therefore provide us with a degree of clarity when surveying the literature. In the opening section of his dissertation on the imitative arts (1789), Twining wrote that 'The whole power of music may be reduced, I think, to three distinct effects; - upon the *ear*, the *passions*, and the *imagination*'.[36] By effects upon the 'ear', Twining meant theories that sought to understand the mechanical relationships between the vibrations of sounds and the fluids and fibres of the human body. Twining makes a careful distinction between, on the one hand, the 'ear', and on the other 'passion' and 'imagination', both of which he labels as 'expressive' effects. He does so because, as we have seen, from about 1750 British writers began to emphasise subjective sense activity in their discussions of music. And although these three 'effects' were seldom discussed as separate phenomena, by the time Twining was writing in 1789, there was sufficient distance between discourse that focused upon 'expression', and discourse that focused upon the mechanical effects of music, for Twining to make explicit the distinction.

As noted in previous chapters, writers were extremely concerned with the effects music could have upon the temperament of the listener. It was observed that music could give rise to feelings of melancholy or joy, that it could incite lethargy or animation. It was these varied discussions and debates that Twining categorised (although he was by no means the first to use the term) as the effects upon the human *passions*. Twining's third category of investigation, related to music's abilities to, for example, give rise to vivid memories of a particular places. By effects upon the 'imagination', Twining therefore meant music's ability to 'raise up' ideas. These two effects, the raising up of ideas and the provoking of certain emotional states, constituted, he thought, 'the whole of what is called the...*expressive* power of music'.[37]

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[35] Bloechl, *Native American Song,* pp.xiv, 26, 106, 109.
[36] Thomas Twining, *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry, Translated with Notes on the Original, and two Dissertations on Poetical and Musical Imitation,* (London: Payne and Son, 1789), p.44. The italics are Twining's.
[37] Twining, *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry,* p.44. The italics are original.

Beyond the 1750s, several writers attempted to answer the various questions surrounding national song by imagining the 'mechanistic' effects of vibrations, but typically this was combined with consideration of the effects of music upon the 'imagination'. However, a notable exception was the English art critic Daniel Webb (c.1719-1798), who, in 1769, broke rank with his fellow philosophers to suggest that previous efforts to explain the links between music and the passions had merely been attempts to elude the difficulties of trying to fathom the true, physical links between sound and sentiment. The relationship must exist, he thought, between states of passion and musical vibrations as they affect the 'human machine'. The human passions, he argued, must be linked to the modification of *motions*: why else is it that anger, for example, quickens, whilst pride expands, and sorrow relaxes? It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that these passions produce similar, distinct 'motions in the subtle parts of the human body'. The mind, he concludes, 'under particular affections, excites certain vibrations on the nerves, and impresses certain movements on the animal spirits'. It is therefore reasonable to assume that it is the nature of music 'to excite similar vibrations' that communicate 'similar movements to these nerves and spirits', and consequently 'movement' is the key component linking music with passion.[38]

Webb implies therefore that the vibrations caused by different modulations, presumably different styles of music (slow or fast, melancholy or agitated), have a physical effect upon the body. Although he does not make the connection explicit, elsewhere in his writings he does note that 'the temperature of the air' almost certainly affected the early development of language, poetry and song, and from this it is possible to deduce that Webb posited some form of correlation between the temperature of climate, the qualities of different musical styles and the effects upon the 'nerves and spirits'. These links become even more plausible when it is realised that Webb had certainly read, and at points referenced, Kircher, and was almost certainly (in his thinking about 'nerves' and the body) familiar with Montesquieu.

In part, Webb's 1769 attempt to explain the correlations was a response to, what he considered to be, the woefully abstract and obscure efforts to explain song's powers by recourse to 'habit'. This notion of habit was primarily concerned with, what Twining termed, the effects upon the imagination. In order to understand the appeal of national song to natives, some writers drew upon longstanding, well established theories relating to pleasures derived from 'art' and, in their thinking on 'customs', took discussion of 'national tastes' in a whole new direction. Scottish thinking on the appeal of national songs was complex and tackled by a wide range of writers using a number of different approaches that were not always sympathetic to one another. However, it is possible to distinguish four trains of thought that were repeated and developed as a means to explain the pleasure that the listener derived from national song. The fourth idea related to 'expression' and is explored through the writings of James Beattie further on in this chapter. The first idea was a sense of 'memory'. In essence, some writers suggested

[38] Daniel Webb, *Observation on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music,* pp.2-6.

that songs that we are familiar with please us the most, primarily because the anticipation of passing from one note to another that we have heard before is a source of pleasure. This idea was derived from the writings of antiquity and was considered in relation to national song by influential writers such as Alexander Gerard.[39] The second suggested explanation was the idea of 'association', that we link certain songs to certain places, or people, or memories. Rousseau, for example, thought that the Swiss song *Ranz des Vaches* produced such 'astonishing' effects upon Swiss people's passions, despite being, in his opinion, a relatively poor (i.e. not very expressive) melody, because, 'the music does not act as music, but as a memorative sign'; that is, it 'recalled the idea of their country...[and] their youth'.[40] Hearing a particular melody gives rise to mental images or feelings from our childhood and is therefore evocative of our upbringing within a particular country. Memory and association were both innate responses of the mind, but they were also responses that were dependent upon having grown up within a particular society (because one needed to have heard a particular native song many times, or associate it with nationally specific places or events). They were, therefore, both closely related to the third, more innovative idea developed by Scottish writers of the period, the notion of 'custom'.

One answer to the conundrum of why national song was able to move native listeners was that 'taste' should be considered as socially (more specifically nationally) relative - in essence, that it was something formed within a specific nation and maintained by 'custom'. In Scottish writing beyond the 1750s, the importance of 'custom' in shaping taste was given a more nuanced treatment than Kircher's broadly labelled effects of 'habit', and was considered alongside the 'natural' factors at work in shaping culture and taste. Moreover, the effects of 'custom' were used, by at least one Scottish critic, to explain the relative lack of enthusiasm for 'national' song amongst the English.

Scottish thinking on 'custom' owed a great deal to Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), in which he rejected the prevailing notion that judgements of taste were largely reliant upon some 'innate' sense of qualities such as 'beauty', and instead, argued that 'custom', that is the values and practices passed down within a particular society, should be considered *the* principal qualification informing people's aesthetic judgements. It was 'custom', he argued, that was largely responsible for determining a sense of 'beauty'. Prior to Smith, thinking about the sense of pleasure derived from 'beauty' drew predominantly upon the Scottish writer Francis Hutcheson's thoughts in his *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725). Hutcheson, who in turn drew heavily upon the works of his mentor the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), proposed a distinction between an 'absolute' sense of

[39] Alexander Gerard thought that music pleases us, at least in part, because we hear a note or sound that gives rise to 'an idea' in the mind of the listener, or causes a 'remembrance'. By this means we are able to form an agreeable attachment to songs that, at first, we dislike. Alexander Gerard, *Essay on Taste,* pp.61-65.

[40] Rousseau, *A Dictionary of Music,* p.267.

beauty, that was internal to mankind, and 'relative' beauty, that was based upon external perceptions and the quality of imitation achieved within 'art'.[41] Smith did not discount utterly the notion that beauty might exist independently of human observation, but he did make clear that he thought custom should be considered *the* single most important factor determining aesthetic judgements. Or, as he put it, 'tho' I cannot admit that custom is the sole principle of beauty, yet I can so far allow the truth of this ingenious system as to grant, that there is scarce any one external form so beautiful as to please if quite contrary to custom and unlike whatever we have been used to in that particular species of things'.[42]

In essence, Smith argued that within any given society one becomes accustomed to what is pleasing and 'tasteful' by exposure, over time, to the prevailing sense of taste. Repeated exposure to what is said to be beautiful links certain styles or objects to the notion of beauty. Smith thought that 'when two objects have frequently been seen together, the imagination acquires a habit of passing easily from one to the other.'[43] Therefore, a process of association heavily influences taste. By this means certain things, ideas or sounds can be linked together in the imagination. Therefore, if something runs contrary to those societal values then it will be thought, to some degree, tasteless. He points out that fashions for clothing and furniture are transient, in that they change regularly. However, fashions relating to 'art' are, he argues, more enduring. Applying this theory to music, he argues that 'a beautiful air may be delivered down by a sort of tradition thro' many successive generations' and what is judged pleasing in a piece of music may therefore appear constant across a man's lifetime.[44] As a result it is often perceived that the rules governing taste in music are grounded in 'reason' and 'nature' and not fashion and custom. But, if one studies change within art, this is shown, argues Smith, to be incorrect and it is revealed that tastes for particular forms that are considered beautiful within art are indeed shaped by fashion and custom.[45] So whilst it is true that other factors – he mentions utility, variety and order – contribute to our judgements on songs, custom is the most important factor. Hence the national tastes for certain musical styles should be considered capricious and socially relative.

In the decades that followed, numerous Scottish writers drew upon Smith's arguments. Hence, in his writing on Scottish song, Dr. John Gregory concluded that within societies certain melodies will, by custom, become annexed to certain passions. By this means, he wrote, we can account for the impassioned response to national songs by natives. As a caveat, he added that appreciating music from other countries was possible, yet, to do so, required a cosmopolitan education and musical training so that one could appreciate the wide variety of musical styles and sounds. Even then, Gregory argued, a listener from outside a community could *never* be

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[41] Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue; In Two Treatises* (London: John Darby, 1725), esp. pp.14-59.
[42] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Edinburgh and London: 1759), pp.384-385.
[43] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* p.371.
[44] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* p.374.
[45] Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments,* P.375.

moved to the same degree as a native. South of the Tweed, writers including Dr. John Brown echoed Smith when he concluded that 'Melody...is to be considered a *relative* thing, founded in the particular Associations and Habits of each people; and by Custom annexed to their sentiments and passions'.[46] In other words, a large part of the power that melody has over the human mind is to be considered the result of being born into, and growing up within, a particular nation.

A taste or fondness for the songs of one's native country were therefore deemed accountable, at least to some degree, by the familiarity of association with places and fond memories, from infancy onwards. But the idea of custom was not without its pitfalls. There was, for example, the question of how and why Scottish songs were able to generate universal appeal if a taste for them was to be regarded as socially specific? Also, custom might explain why some people have a prejudice or fondness for their native song culture, but it did nothing to explain how and why distinct national variations in melody had come into existence.

To answer the first of these questions writers turned, as one might expect, to the notion that Scottish songs were credited with extraordinary expressive qualities, which, regardless of familiarity, were able to appeal to human passions that were common to all peoples. As David Herd argued, men of letters of all nations often prefer Scottish song to their own national song because the songs are sufficiently expressive to move any person with a musical ear.[47] Publishers of Scottish song collections addressed the idea of 'custom' informing national taste, but dismissed any notion that such limitations could be applied to Scottish songs. For example, Patrick McDonald (1729-1824), an author and collector of highland songs, concluded that 'a national air, that does not, in any degree, excite the attention of a stranger, will often, in consequence of certain habits and associations, produce great affect [*sic*] upon the mind of a native... [yet] the genuine tones of feeling and distress [found within Scottish songs] are addressed to the heart and speak a language equally intelligible to men of all nations'. [48]

Scots were confident enough in the 'powers' of their song culture for 'custom' to be an acceptable, but not troubling, notion. However, the same could not be said for the English, who, with the exception of Dr. Brown, seem to have steered clear of engaging with these discussions. Although English authors such as Daniel Webb did engage on the subject of 'custom', his attempts to explain the powers of songs by 'movements' and vibrations were, ultimately, designed to be a rebuttal of the theory of 'habit' and was, therefore, essentially a critique of the Scottish literature. In part, a lack of desire to engage in these debates might have stemmed from an unwillingness to imagine that, whilst Scottish songs were able to garner universal appreciation, English songs, lacking such expressive abilities, were appreciated merely for reasons of 'fashion'. Such a notion would certainly have disquieted the prolific English

[46] Brown, *Dissertation,* p.75. Italics are by Brown.
[47] Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs,* i, p.vii. Italics are by Herd.
[48] Patrick McDonald, *A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs...of the North Highlands and Western Isles,* (Edinburgh: 1784), p.7.

songwriter and performer Charles Dibdin (c.1745-1814) who, in a series of lectures to the public in the 1790s (one of which was titled 'National Songs') turned, like most of his compatriots when defending their song culture, to the 'moderns' from the theatres. The music of 'Purcell, Boyce and Arne', he told his listeners, captured the English character and transcended fashion and, for these reasons would appeal to the Englishman's heart for centuries to come.[49]

However, towards the end of the century some Scottish writers began to wonder if English customs, their 'tastes' and fashions, were not hindering their ability to appreciate their native songs. John Ramsay of Ochentyre (1736-1814), the author of an article 'On Scottish Songs' published in the magazine *The Bee* in 1791 certainly thought so, and opined that,

> A song in the dialect of Cumberland or Somersetshire could hardly be popular in England, because it was never spoken by people of fashion; whereas, in the days of Allan Ramsay, every Scotchman, from the peer to the shepherd...[had] national attachments and...the busy, the learned and the gay, continued to express themselves as their fathers had done; and that with an elegance and force.[50]

In other words, the Englishman's relative aesthetic judgements and sense of politeness had, and were, hobbling their ability to appreciate and engage with whatever 'national' songs might still be existent within their oral culture. Their 'custom', was formed against a taste for what was, so the Scottish author of the article from *The Bee* and many of his compatriots now agreed, the true 'national' culture. Whilst Scottish authors had, for almost a century now, been recording and treasuring this heritage, the English were prevented by custom from forming any attachments of the imagination.

Environment, climate and soundscape:

As we have seen, a theory of the social relativity of aesthetic values allowed for writers to explain why national songs moved native people, but not those born within a different society. Yet this still left the question as to why the peoples of most nations had developed distinctive song cultures. As Dr. Brown noted in his discussion of custom, songs created by man in his

[49] Charles Dibdin, 'Lecture three: National Music' in *Eighteen Lectures on the Art of Music,* BL. Add Ms. 30968, fol. 208, pp.31-32.
[50] The article was published under the pseudonym J. Runcole, 'On Scottish Songs', in *The Bee, Or, Weekly Literary Intelligencer,* April 13, 1791, pp.201-210, esp. p.208. John Ramsay is argued to have been the author of this, and various other 'anonymous' articles on Scottish song, in Karen McAuley, *Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting, c.1760-1888*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2009). p.36.

savage state would have been essentially the same the world over – that is, unlearned and directed by passions. Although he did not elaborate upon the point, Brown thought that an explanation of the variances in musical sounds must 'mak[e] allowance for the Difference in soil and climate'.[51] Most writers took Brown's approach and simply mentioned, frequently in an offhand way, that 'soil and climate' - or some similar reference to what we can describe as the effects of environment - must be responsible. But other authors went much further and offered in-depth (natural) philosophical accounts of this process. James Beattie, the Glasgow-based professor of moral philosophy, attempted the most comprehensive treatment on the origins of national songs. In his *Essay on Poetry and Music as they Affect the Mind* (1776) Beattie broke down the concept of national music to consider how and why it is able to affect the native listener. His chapter 'On Music' is divided into three sections and the first two of these have received scholarly analysis for their impact upon the development of 'aesthetics'. But the third section of the book, titled 'Conjectures on some Peculiarities on National Music', has previously (like national music in general) been overlooked or harshly evaluated. For Edward Lippman, Beattie's comments on 'national song' are the 'questionable' weak-link in his chain of reasoning.[52] From Lippman's late twentieth-century vantage point, Beattie's linking of musical aesthetics to the natural environment, and ideas such as physiognomy, undermined his credibility. Yet, set within the context of contemporary eighteenth-century investigation into man's relationship with the natural world, the conclusions that Beattie reaches were far from logically flawed or, as Lippman suggests, peripheral to his thinking on music. Indeed, Beattie's thoughts on the matter were, in some regards highly original, and in others fairly typical of the age.

Beattie begins his lengthy dissertation with an investigation into how we can account for the pleasures of music in general. This pleasure must, he thinks, be partly mechanical. It is perfectly reasonable, he wrote, 'to suppose, that the human body may be mechanically affected by [sounds]'; after all, when in church, can the body not 'feel the floor, and the pew, tremble to certain tones of the organ'? From this, is it not reasonable to deduce that 'some of the finer fibres of the human frame should be put in a tremulous motion, when they happen to be in unison with any notes proceeding from external objects'?[53]

Having elaborated, at least in part, upon the mechanistic thinking on vibrations imagined by Daniel Webb, Beattie embarks upon an explanation of how we derive pleasure from music. 'Expression', he proclaimed, 'is the chief excellence of music' and it is from the expressive qualities that we draw the greatest pleasure. Remove the expressive qualities and

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[51] Brown, *Dissertation,* p.56.
[52] For example, Edward Lippman has described Beattie's suggested link between national musical characteristics and the temperament of the composer as highly 'questionable', and 'not integral' to understanding his thoughts on aesthetics. Beattie's thoughts on national music seem to have otherwise gone subsequently unnoticed by scholars. See, Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), p.110.
[53] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music*, p.149.

music may 'still amuse the ear, for a moment withdraw the attention from the anxieties of life', or 'show the performer's dexterity', but, without being expressive and engaging the affections, it can never 'yield that permanent, useful, and heart-felt gratification' that is experienced from good music.[54] Music was a powerful, but ultimately, blunt instrument and, like most of his contemporaries, he thought its powers of imitation poor, and in need of the clarity provided by language to sharpen its focus and provide it with a clear meaning.[55] Nevertheless, he concluded that it was still the expressive qualities that give rise to feelings of passion when we hear musical sounds. Like most writers, he concurred that vocal music, when sung sweetly, was the greatest source of pleasure, because it most clearly conveyed the sentiments intended by the composer. Only vocal music allowed the instrument, the human voice, to utter 'sentiments…as well as sounds'.[56]

Having established that the power of songs to move a listener lies in expression Beattie then turns to the analogy between musical sounds and mental 'affections'. To do so he engages with the idea of custom and moves towards a direct discussion of national music drawing upon the ideas of imagination (as Twining would later categorise it) and memory, discussed above. Certain sounds or pieces of music were, he reasoned, undoubtedly associated with certain ideas and this must be as a result of either nature or custom, or perhaps both.[57] 'It is true', he thought, 'that to a favourite air, even when unaccompanied with words, we do commonly annex certain ideas'. Sometimes, he continued, 'we imagine a resemblance between certain thoughts or objects'. As an example he suggests that 'a Scotchman may fancy, that there is some sort of likeness between that charming air which he calls *Tweedside,* and the scenery of a fine pastoral country: and to the same air, even when only played on an instrument, he may annex the ideas of romantic love and rural tranquillity, because these form the subject of a pretty little ode, which he has often heard sung to that air'.[58] The raising up of ideas must, therefore, be the result of 'the effect of habit', for 'a foreigner who hears that tune for the first time, entertains no such fancy'. How, he asks, might we reasonably be asked to assume that the melody 'bears any resemblance to the hills, groves, and meadows, adjoining to a beautiful river'? Or, how is the music more clearly a description of romantic love than, say, parental or filial affection? 'Any one of these topics', he concludes, 'could be used as the basis for an ode which would suit the melody 'most perfectly'.[59] Ideas expressed through music are, he therefore deduces, too vague to be associated in a concrete way with any specific geographical location. Instead, the

[54] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* pp.156-57.
[55] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.159.
[56] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.164.
[57] This point caused considerable discussion amongst eighteenth-century writers. Daniel Webb was not alone in thinking that the powers of music to affect the human mind were 'natural' and hence present from birth. If not, he asked, then why was music able to cause a response in infants? Webb, *Observations,* p.10; On the powers of music being somehow separate to learning (and hence able to affect infants) see also, Brown, *Dissertation,* pp.74-76; Also, Gregory, *A Comparative View,* p.137.
[58] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* pp.159-160.
[59] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.160.

'imagination' must give rise to such images through memory brought about by association with a landscape experienced in the past.

But the vagueness of musical expression does not, he makes clear, detract from its ability to affect the listener. The effects of imagination were, after all, not detached from the passions. But, if a song was to influence the passions, it would need to be intelligible and expressive, and, the key to achieving these qualities is, he argues, simplicity. 'In music', he thought, simplicity 'is indispensible...[and] of the ancient music little more is known than that it was very affecting and very simple'. It is no coincidence, he reasons, that 'all popular and favourite airs...the old national music in every country...are remarkable for simplicity' and are thereby able to 'please the general taste'.[60] This 'simplicity', he reasons, is pleasing in all music, and so goes *beyond* custom, in allowing for universal appeal. After all, if fondness for certain songs were merely habit then why, he asks, are infants so often pleased by musical sounds? There must be, aside from custom, something in 'human nature that is susceptible' to simple musical delights.[61]

Already then, Beattie's argument had deviated from the idea of 'custom'. The appeal of musical sounds was, in his estimation, both something mechanical (in that it was linked to vibrations) and 'natural' (which is why it could affect infants unexposed to 'custom'). That national songs can be pleasing because they become associated with certain memories is, he argues, certain, for any melody may be popular or stir the passions if it is, to use his word, 'annexed' to memories. He concludes, even if '[a song] be inferior to the Italian', or 'irregular or rude', it is not upon their merit that national songs appeal to natives, but 'the charming ideas they would recall to his mind'.[62] It is partly for this reason that people generally entertain, what Beattie calls 'an amiable prejudice...in favour of their national music'.[63]

Yet expression, through simplicity, provides only one part of Beattie's explanation as to why 'old' national songs are capable of affecting the passions and imagination. From his opening thoughts on expression and association he moves to explain how and why particular native sounds might have developed and provides another explanation as to why they are so affecting. That there are 'certain styles of melody peculiar to each musical country' is, he wrote, widely accepted, but this should not, perhaps, be particularly surprising when it is considered that different countries have also developed different languages. However, there is, he argues, one national culture of particular note on account of its 'particular expression and style that characterise the music of one nation, and distinguish it from every other sort of music', and this is the 'striking example' of the music of Scotland.[64]

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[60] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.170.
[61] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* pp.172-3.
[62] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.174.
[63] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.174.
[64] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* pp.176-77.

In Beattie's thinking, music is a phenomenon that has some effect upon 'the mind'. But the process Beattie outlines is not mechanistic, in that it is not overly concerned with fibres, fluids and temperatures. Rather, it is sensory (and so somewhat 'empirical') and it is cognitive, in that it imagines the effects of environment upon the mind. And he begins to explain this link by noting the differences between 'the native melody of the highlands...from that of the southern part of the kingdom' and trying to explain why these differences might have occurred.[65] It had long been noted that there were discernible differences between highland and lowland song. But, collections and writings emphasising these differences only began to appear in large numbers beyond the 1750s. In instances such as Alistair Macdonald's *Highland Songs* (1751), this was a direct response to preserve a troubled culture in the aftermath of the '45, but one that (theoretically) exposed a wider audience for the first time to the musical culture of the highlands.[66] Discussing the highland sound was, therefore, something relatively novel. For Beattie, the explanation for the differences in musical styles and sounds can be inferred through consideration of the links between thoughts and expressions, and to explain this he turns to a brief discussion of the links between the mental and the physical in the human body - particularly the face.

> Every thought that partakes of the nature of passion,
> has a correspondent expression in the look and gesture:
> and so strict is the union between passion and its
> outward sign, that, where the former is not in some
> degree felt, the latter can never be perfectly
> natural...[it] becomes awkward mimickry
> [and]...cannot draw forth the sympathy of the beholder.

On a national level the implication is, that,

> If, therefore, there be, in the circumstances of particular
> nations or persons, any thing [sic] that gives a peculiarity to their
> passions and thoughts, it seems reasonable to expect,
> that they will also have something peculiar in the expression
> of their countenance, and even in the form of their features.[67]

Everything, including education, temperament, the level of civility of one's society, to one's trade, explains Beattie, can shape a person's true character and nature. And, just as these

[65] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.177.
[66] Alexander MacDonald, *Ais-Eiridh na Sean Chánoin Albannaich,* (Duneidiunn: 1751).
[67] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.177.

physical signs of the passions are visible to the eye of the 'physiognomist', so they are audible in melody to those who trouble to listen. As he explains,

> A man habitually peevish, or passionate, or querulous... may be known by the sound of his voice...May we not go a step farther, and say, that if a man under the influence of any passion were to compose...a tune, his work would in some measure exhibit an image of his mind?[68]

The mechanism that links a 'mournful mind and a melancholy tune' is, he admits, not well understood. Musical sounds are not 'the signs of ideas' and 'rarely are they imitations of natural sounds' and, as a result, he confesses, 'I am at a loss to explain how it should happen, that a musician, overwhelmed with sorrow, for example, should put together a series of notes, whose expression' conveys his passion.[69] Nevertheless, 'Let us suppose it proved' he continues 'that different sentiments in the mind of the musician will give different and peculiar expressions to his music', with this rational assumption established then '...upon this principle, it will not be difficult to account for some of the phenomenon of a national ear' and sound.[70]

He therefore considers the song culture of the highlands in relation to the environment to which highlanders are exposed throughout their lives. In Beattie's opinion, what was of primary importance was the fact that the region is 'picturesque, but in general melancholy'. As he explains, 'Long tracts of mountainous desert, covered with dark heath, and often obscured by misty weather [and] narrow vallies, thinly inhabited', characterise the landscape and climate. Added to this is the effect of the highland soundscape. Of 'precipices' that 'resound with the fall of torrents', the 'mournful dashing of waves along the friths [firths] and...the portentous noises which every change of the wind, and every increase and diminution of the waters', acts upon the mind in a land filled with 'rocks caverns and echoes'. All of these factors combined give rise, he reasons, to a 'diffuse gloom over the fancy'.[71] How could such an environment, with such affecting sounds, he asks, fail to 'tincture the thoughts of a native'?

It is worth dwelling for a moment on Beattie's comments upon the highlands, for his description, apart from being a vivid piece of writing that owed much to a sense of the sublime, moved beyond the idea of climate – that, for example, people from a hot region will be, as William Jones argued, indolent - to a broader notion of the effects of the environment as a

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[68] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* pp.178-79.
[69] This was not a failing on Beattie's behalf. Writers of the time often expressed a lack of understanding about how a 'mood' could find its way into a combination of notes. Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.180.
[70] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.181.
[71] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* pp.181-82.

whole.[72] It was not just weather that Beattie thought shaped the style and sound of national song, it was climate, landscape and soundscape. What, he poses, should we rationally expect the music produced by the inhabitants of such an environment to sound like? 'Strains expressive of joy, tranquillity, or the softer passions? No: their style must have been better suited to their circumstances' and so, we find that their songs, their melodies and the poetry, are frequently, expressive of 'melancholy'. Melodically they exhibit 'wild strains' that can verge 'upon the terrible', meant by Beattie not as comment upon its technical quality, but upon its mournful character and ability to channel a sense of the sublime.[73]

The extremities of the highland landscape and climate were, other writers of the period agreed, responsible for the highly distinctive sound and 'wild' style of highland songs. Patrick McDonald, in the Preface to his *Highland Airs,* notes that the songs in the publication were gathered from the oral tradition by his late brother, a native highlander, who ever loved the 'simple' music of 'his native mountains', which exerted such a 'power over the mind' that often, upon hearing them, his 'eyes [would] stream with tears'.[74] So wild were some of the melodies that his brother collected that McDonald writes about experiencing difficulty in translating them into standard notational form. The greatest difficulty lay in trying to convey the irregular rhythms and strong passions, of this music from 'the mountains', because 'a strict observance of measure is incompatible with strong emotion, or passion'. Fortunately, he remarked, a 'return to nature' had recently occurred in the performance of 'musicians of taste', whereby, for 'the sake of musical expression' they now used 'freedom of measure' and in their playing were therefore able to capture something of the wildness of highland melody.[75]

This irregularity and wildness, writes Beattie, is thrown into stark contrast by the songs of the lowlands, which are audibly of a very different character. But this, he thinks, is hardly surprising given the stark contrast between the two landscapes. Whereas the highlands were characterised by the sublime, the lowlands more typically contain 'Smooth and lofty hills covered in verdure; clear streams winding through long and beautiful vallies' and the 'trees produced without culture...crouding into little groves'. It is a landscape therefore ideally suited for 'romantic leisure and tender passions'.[76] Little wonder, he argues, that many of the favourite old Scottish songs take their names from 'rivulets, villages and hills' in regions 'distinguished by the charming variety of rural scenery'. And who could doubt, he thinks, that as a result of this 'Arcadia', the songs of the inhabitants are 'sweetly and powerfully expressive of love and tenderness and other emotions suited to the tranquillity of pastoral life'.[77]

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[72] I might conjecture that Beattie's stark contrast between the sublime highlands and the beautiful lowlands owes something to Edmund Burke's antithetical notion of sublimity and beauty put forward in his, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: 1756).
[73] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.186.
[74] McDonald, *A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs,* p.1.
[75] McDonald, *A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs,* P.2.
[76] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.186.
[77] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.187.

Much of Beattie's thinking, indeed much thinking on the subject of national song in general, takes place in metaphor. Links are imagined between the landscape and sounds, between a beautiful and accommodating land and soft and melodious strains. The potentially complex and varying lowland landscape is made tangible by characterising it against the contrasting (mountainous) landscape of the north. And through metaphor, three nebulous and unmanageable things, the 'land', the people and the distinctive culture are brought together. The lowland landscape, which is, say, tranquil and abundant, provides a pleasing and hospitable environment, which in turn affects lowlanders by putting them in a tender frame of mind, and hence, music composed by the people of this 'arcadia' is mild and mellifluous.

The idea that these songs were not Scottish and that they may have been produced by foreign hands (he mentions David Riccio) or shaped by foreign influences, is, he therefore concludes, impossible. Only a native who had grown up in such a landscape could ever capture the true 'spirit' of the country. Foreigners might try to imitate the style, but they will never be able to capture 'the true spirit of it'. Even Geminiani, he wrote, a 'great admirer of Scottish songs', admitted to have 'blotted many a quire of paper to no purpose, in attempting to compose a second strain to that fine air which in Scotland is known by the name *The Broom of Cowdenknows'*.[78]

In Beattie's estimation, what distinguished the people of one nation from another, and therefore formed the basis for national character, was exposure to the effects of environment. The influence of landscape, scenery, weather, and of course soundscape, exerted considerable influence upon the mind of the inhabitants and thereby played an important role in shaping the temperament of the natives. This temperament, this tendency to be melancholy, or warlike, or tender and tranquil manifested in the passions and, in turn (though he was at a loss to explain the process more closely and thought it something currently unknown related to vibrations) these passions were expressed in the rhythm and melody of the native songs. Memory and custom no doubt played a part in producing powerful sentiments in the listener, but they could not explain the peculiar characteristics of national song and why it seemed to be expressive of a particular landscape. In Beattie's estimation, a fondness for the culture of a particular nation, was both a social construct, in that it was a process of interaction with external influences (the influence of custom and the judgement of contemporaries) *and* a process dependent upon man's relationship with the 'natural' world. Human beings were born into a nation and the relative levels of civility, their education and, right from their infancy, their sensory perception of the natural environment, etched aspects of a character onto the *tabula rasa* of the mind. Being Scottish, in this sense, and having a predilection for native songs, was therefore both something learned and something forged over time (and so distinctly Scottish) through a relationship with the physical environment of Scotland.

[78] Beattie, *Essays on Poetry and Music,* p.188.

The notion, amongst Scots at least, that native songs captured some inherent character of the Scots themselves within the music became well established and often repeated during this period. When the Scottish ballad collector David Herd remarked on the superiority of Scottish melody he thought the 'romantic face of the country' and its tranquil, rural landscape was linked to the 'natural and striking traits of the character...of the people'.[79] Patrick McDonald went one step further and distinguished between several regional song cultures within highland song alone. In an essay to accompany his highly successful *Collection of Highland Airs* (the Highland Society of London alone ordered 60 copies, and Dr. Beattie, Dr. Burney and a Mrs Boswell of Auchinleck – presumably James' wife – also subscribed) McDonald noted the distinct sounds and styles that could be found in the north highlands, Perthshire, Argyleshire and the Western Isles.[80]

This new emphasis on the expressive playing of Scottish songs was taken a step further by some writers who, influenced by the links between music and environment, thought that Scottish songs could *only* be performed to a tolerable degree by Scots. With this in mind, one critic argued that, 'Scottish [songs] are *flights of genius,* devoid of art, [that] bid defiance to artificial graces and affected cadences', and, because of this, their performance requires a '*sensibility* and *feeling,* and a perfect understanding of the subject and the words of a song'. For these reasons 'a Scots song can only be sung by a Scottish voice'. Only a Scot, who will be sympathetic to the sentiments of the composer, could realise the full expressive qualities. A Scottish individual, the critic assumed, will naturally understand the music, because their passions will, to some extent, be in sympathy with those of the composer who, presumably grew up in the same (though the author was not specific, highland or lowland) society and environment.[81]

There developed a sense that Scottish songs were therefore *truly* national, in that they must be free from outside influences in a way that, perhaps, few other song cultures could boast. This sense of the 'purity' of Scottish songs was certainly held by Sir John Hawkins, whose remarks on this subject were repeated often across the remainder of the century. Hawkins thought that Scottish songs had most certainly, because of their distinctive native sound, been free from any outside influences until at least the 1720s. Scots songs, he wrote, 'seem not have been corrupted, nor to have received the least tincture from the music of other countries, but retain that sweetness, delicacy, and native simplicity for which they are distinguished and admired'. Beyond the 1730s, he argues, (presumably English) forgeries began to be produced in large numbers and Italian influences began to creep into the Scottish taste.[82]

Interestingly Hawkins then advances a seemingly curious suggestion. 'It is', he wrote, 'so far from being true, that the Scots music has been meliorated by the Italian, that the

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[79] Herd, *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs,* i, pp.iii, v.
[80] McDonald, *A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs,* pp.4-5.
[81] Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', (1792), pp.495-96.
[82] Hawkins, *GHoSPM,* iv, p.6.

converse of the proposition may be assumed; and, however strange it may seem, an Italian writer of great reputation and authority has not hesitated to assert that some of the finest vocal music that his country can boast of, owes its merit in a great measure to its affinity with the Scots'.[83] Hawkins then repeats an idea, advanced a few years earlier by Lord Kames (1696-1782) in his *Sketches of the History of Man,* that the Scottish sound must have been created by a learned figure, and, using evidence from several sixteenth-century Italian writers, he points towards James I of Scotland (1394-1437) as the most likely candidate.[84] The theory was, that a learned Scottish composer, namely James I, had created a distinctive and powerfully affecting musical style which, was at some point heard (though no writers who repeated this story seem to have elaborated upon when and how this might have occurred) by an influential sixteenth century Italian musician who then carried the style back to his native country. The influences of the Scottish sound could, it was said, still be detected in this Italian's compositions. The source of all this information was, Hawkins tells us, the musician Alessandro Tassoni (1565-1635), who, writing on the development of 'early' (meaning pre-sixteenth century) music and music in his own time theorised that, 'James, King of Scotland...invented a new, melancholy, and plaintive kind of music, different from all other. In which he has since been imitated by Carlo Gesualdo (1566-1613)...who [in turn] has improved music [in Italy]'.[85]

It seemed highly plausible to Hawkins that a relatively learned man had developed such a sound. Also, James was a Scot and therefore this did little to interfere with his insistence that the song culture was free from foreign influence. Several writers, most notably Charles Burney, who took time out of one of his trips to the continent to conduct some research into the matter, thought the whole James I affair lacking in evidence.[86] Nevertheless, numerous writers, beyond the 1770s picked up and repeated the claims that the powerful Scottish songs had exerted an influence upon the course of Italian music-making in the sixteenth century. William Tytler delighted in the notion that the Scottish sound originated with a king of Scots, and lent enthusiastic support to the influence of Scottish song upon Italian composers. Not only was he satisfied with the various testimonies of sixteenth-century Italian writers on music regarding the influence of the Scottish sound upon the progress of music in Italy, he conducted his own research and suggested that the writings of Kircher provided addition evidence to substantiate the claims.[87] In England too, the James I story took root. When Charles Dibdin gave one of his lectures on national song, he included a potted history of Scottish songs and named James I as a

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[83] Hawkins, *GHoSPM,* iv, p.3.
[84] Henry Home (Lord Kames), *Sketches of the History of Man,* 4 vols. (Edinburgh: 1774), i, p.179.
[85] Hawkins, *GHoSPM,* iv, p.5.
[86] Whilst conducting research in Rome, Charles Burney discovered that, not only were Carlo Gesualdo's compositions distinctly lacking any semblance to the Scottish sound, but that Kames and Burney had in fact mistranslated Tassoni's original manuscript and upon which the claims had been based. See, Burney, *GHoM,* iii, pp.219-220; Joseph Ritson was equally sceptical of the claims. See his, 'History of Scottish Song', (1794), p.xciv.
[87] William Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', (1792), pp.474-475.

major contributor to the development of the Scottish sound.[88] Such was the status of Scottish songs by the last quarter of the century that such a connection now seemed highly plausible to many Scottish (and even some English) writers.[89] Scottish song was, for most writers, too discernibly Scottish in 'character' to have been shaped by foreign influences.

The implications of 'national song':

It is worth noting that no English writers (that I have been able to find) of the time attempted to link the English landscape to the sounds of English melodies. Firstly, there was the problem of defining the English sound. As we have seen, some writers did make suggestions, but their analysis was always limited and their sentiments unsubstantiated by the rational application of knowledge about the natural world that underpinned Scottish assertions. Hence even patriots such as Charles Dibdin, who thought English songs expressive of the national 'spirit', in that, 'like the minds of the inhabitants' they had an 'open and unaffected manner', were forced to concede that English song was, in style and evolution, as much Italian, German and Scottish as it was English. Only in songs from recent times, Dibdin proclaimed, is the 'very peculiar character' of the English discernible, and only when discussing songs written within or immediately prior to his own lifetime (he was born in c.1745), did he feel confident to assert that these songs 'could never have been composed but by an Englishman'. [90]

The second problem facing the English was linking the English environment to an ill-defined native sound. The metaphorical analogies made by Scottish writers relied upon clear and contrasting (highland and lowland) sounds and landscapes that could be reduced to something more tangible through characterisation (the highlands being 'rugged', for example). For the English, the nature of both landscape and sound were far less clear. Certainly some sense of English music being discernible existed by the 1770s. Charles Burney, for example, once mentioned an English composer named Dr. Samuel Howard who wrote songs only in 'the English national style'.[91] But by the second half of the century, this 'national' style tended to refer to the sort of patriotic theatre pieces that Dibdin mentions. Indeed, by the final decades of the century it is possible to detect different uses of the term 'national song' on either side of the Tweed. In Scotland a 'national song' was something linked to the land and the people, a product that Scots learned to appreciate from childhood and that spoke of their history and was expressive of their temperament. In England, a 'national song' came to mean a popular theatre piece that was patriotic, normally by being Francophobic, in nature. [92]

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[88] Charles Dibdin, 'Lecture three: National Song' in L*ectures on the Art of Music,* BL, Add Ms. 30968. fol.208, pp.34-37.
[89] For example, Tytler, 'Dissertation on the Scottish Music', (1794), pp.474-475.
[90] Dibdin, 'Lecture three: National Song' BL. Add Ms., 30968, fol. 208, pp.28, 31.
[91] Burney, *GHoM,* iv, p.672.
[92] Towards the end of the eighteenth century certain 'contemporary' songs, such as *Hearts of Oak* and *God Save King George,* were often referred to in the press as 'national songs'. The phrase was broadly a

Investigations into national song by Scottish writers of the period further enhanced a sense of confidence in the superiority of Scotland's native song culture. Because Scottish song was deemed more expressive, it had universal appeal (because certain passions were common to all humanity), and it could therefore transcend national boundaries. Also, it provided a link to a native, 'pastoral' past in an age increasingly enamoured of primitivism. As writers began to judge music less by its 'imitative' and more by its 'expressive' powers, they began to think about the links between the ideas 'raised up' by music in the minds of listeners, and the national environment and climate. If music was not 'imitative', and few beyond the 1750s accepted that it was, then it could not give rise to specific ideas or scenes (such a babbling brook, or a forest). However, if songs were sufficiently expressive, and they forcefully conveyed the passions of the composer then they were capable of conveying the sentiments felt by that individual. If those passions were broadly common to the people of a nation (that is, there was a discernible national character) then they were not only part of a culture with links stretching back in time, they were also a link between all peoples of a nation in the present. Hence Scottish writings on song enhanced Scotland's musical prestige by suggesting that Scottish song was *more* 'national', in that there was a connection between the sound and the people as a whole, and had greater national 'purity' than English song.

It is worth mentioning that scholars working in the field of 'nationalism studies' (a branch of sociology) often describe a nation as having 'temporal depth', a phrase which is used to mean that a nation must have a sense of its past, be it in the form of stories, myths or histories (accurate or not), and that this sense of a past exercises influence over a sense of self in the present.[93] This 'temporal depth' extends into a spatial dimension, in that the 'history' of a people is frequently seen, or believed, to have taken place in a particular location. The geographical site of a defined nation, the place inhabited currently (or historically) by a people, is therefore invested with meaning that is linked to a sense of the past. As we have seen, during the eighteenth century (and indeed earlier), the links between geographical region and the 'nation' went far deeper than a historical relationship between (geographical) space and time and therefore, such current sociological thinking on the nation is, when projected onto the eighteenth century, insufficient to explain conceptualisations of the 'nation' as put forward by Scottish enlightenment thinkers. National song points, therefore, towards a relatively unexplored gap in our understanding of nationhood in the past.

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synonym for patriotic songs. See for example, the review of 'The Theatre' in *The Sun,* January 20, 1796; Also the 'Ode in Sapphic Measure' in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser,* August 29, 1782; By the 1790s the phrase was occasionally used in a sense that was broadly analogous to the later term 'national anthem'. See for example, the account given by a reported in Paris who witnessed the loud chorus of singing that followed the signing of the French constitution, which he described as 'the National Song of Liberty, to all future generations'. The song, however, is unknown and cannot have been the *Marseilles,* which was written in 1792. See, 'The Nation, the Law and the King', in the *Evening Mail,* September 21, 1791.

[93] The phrase is used extensively. See, for example, Smith, *Nationalism*, p.84.

Furthermore, historical thinking on nationhood in the eighteenth century relies predominantly upon a sense of 'othering', that is, a mechanism whereby identity is established in relation to the presence of an external 'other'; most notably, that Britishness was 'forged' against the other of Catholic France. My intention here has not been to deny the existence of an 'othering' mechanism at work in the process of national identity formation, but instead has been to suggest that an exploration of 'national song' reveals that eighteenth-century thinkers also understood a sense of nationhood to have a naturalistic dimension. The nation was, at least in the minds of many thinkers such as James Beattie, a shared cultural experience. But this culture was more than something 'handed-down' over the ages and familiar (and so emotionally evocative) from childhood onwards. It was something forged in a relationship between the particular natural environment and the people. Song culture *sounded* Scottish because it embodied and expressed Scottish temperaments, and in turn this temperament had been shaped by the specific natural features of Scotland as a physical place. Whilst the Scots did compare themselves to their English neighbours, they also saw Scottishness as something fashioned, at least in part, by forces that were external to, but acting upon, their countrymen.

Conclusion

In the eighteenth century songs were given fresh significance. As we have seen, a number of shifts reconfigured attitudes towards songs, and changed the ways songs were analysed and discussed. For the first time, extensive scholarly research and discussion of songs took place. Song histories were written, and the sounds of 'common' songs were brought into debates about 'civility' and the progress of nations. In the eighteenth century songs also acquired greater 'national' significance. This thesis has demonstrated that people used songs to repeat or reimagine aspects of their sense of national identity. In particular I have focused upon some of the ways masculinity was aligned with nationhood and some of the anxieties that this linkage caused. But, as we have seen, the relationships between songs and national identities were manifold and ranged far beyond conceptions of what a Scotsman or Englishman was, or was not, in terms of character. The sounds of songs were connected to a sense of national heritage and to the supposed character of the natural environment and the people. Because of this 'natural' link between sound and character, and, because song culture began to be seen as a bond between the nation's people (across social divides) past and present, the 'purity' of this heritage came to matter. Hence, so many writers became animated and exercised over the potential contribution of a sixteenth-century Italian immigrant to the Scottish sound.

For the Scottish, a distinctive sound spoke of a deep, unbroken heritage and a long-standing relationship between the Scottish landscape and the Scottish people. By comparison, English song culture seemed temporally shallow. The lack of a distinctive and uncomplicated sound raised doubts, not just about the age of English song culture, but also about the extent to which these songs could be considered 'national'. Unsurprisingly, these developments caused some anxiety amongst the English, and these concerns are visible in scholarly writings, such as John Brown's *Dissertation*, and in other more 'popular' modes. Hence, in poems, songs and prints, the Scotophobic media of the early 1760s made abundant use of musical metaphors to play upon English fears that their musical culture played 'second fiddle' to the pervasive Scottish sound.

However, we should not let periods of tension mask the varied and complex nature of Anglo-Scottish relations. As this thesis has demonstrated, the English were more receptive to Scottish culture in the eighteenth century than has previously been imagined. Indeed, we have seen how the popularity of Scottish songs in London fluctuated, reaching new heights in the 1720-30s, but sustaining a prominent presence in print right across the century. This presence remained even amidst periods of tension and uncertainty. For example, Scottish song collections continued to thrive amidst the '45, and in print and on the stage, when the English did characterise the 'enemy', they generally discriminated between a sexually menacing Jacobite and a 'Scot'.

Proving causality between the growth in the popularity of Scottish songs in London during the 1720s and the increase in the numbers of English songs published and performed in 1730s is problematic. But the timings of the trends are suggestive. The subsequent appearance of 'British' song publications seems to have been a response by publishers to the public's desire to hear songs from both musical cultures. Indeed, from a musical perspective, using 'British' as a term to encapsulate the two distinct forms of national song was the only logical option available to the English. There was no 'British' sound, and, because English and Scottish songs were distinct entities, there was no possibility of establishing or defining a British song culture. The presence of these 'British' publications raises perhaps a more fundamental problem for the notion of a cohesive British identity. If myths, histories, symbols and other aspects of a distinct heritage and culture are taken to be highly significant to a sense of national identity then, in a large and prominent part of eighteenth-century culture, a homogenised sense of Britishness did not, and arguably could not, occur.

Because of the popularity and prominence of the distinctive Scottish sound no sustained process of Anglicisation or disparagement was ever attempted. Nor is there any evidence that the English would have desired such a thing: they continued to buy Scottish song collections throughout the century, and even the most xenophobic English commentators acknowledged the pleasures they derived from listening to Scottish strains. This is not to suggest that conscious attempts at establishing British standards via Anglicisation were not underway in other areas of eighteenth-century culture. But, as we have seen, the English had no dominant musical culture to export and to promote. Furthermore, the market for printed Scottish songs remained fairly buoyant in London across the century, and Scottish confidence about the superior qualities of the song culture only increased over time. As a result we can say, that a process of Anglicisation did not occur evenly across eighteenth-century British culture, and in the significant area of song cultures, it did not occur at all.

What this thesis suggests then, is that in the eighteenth century, English and Scottish attitudes towards one another were more complex and less hostile than previously imagined. The 'internal colonialism' framework has masked such complexities, and there is a need to reassess its usefulness as a model for constructing eighteenth-century cultural histories. Finally, what this thesis tells us, is that songs became a topic of some importance during the eighteenth century, and, as a prominent feature of the cultural landscape, they informed, helped shape or were integrated into thinking on a range of debates and concerns. As a result, we might conclude that further study of song cultures has the potential to shed new light upon aspects of eighteenth-century history.

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